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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXI

TORONTO, MARCH, 1940

No. 1

## THE MILITARY ASPECT OF CANADA'S WINNING OF THE WEST 1870-1885

"WE hope to close our Session this week, and a very mountainous Session it has been! We have quietly and almost without observation annexed all the Country between here and the Rocky Mountains, as well as Newfoundland." Thus Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to General Sir Hastings Doyle on June 16, 1869.<sup>1</sup> Events soon demonstrated that he had been unduly optimistic. Newfoundland declined the Canadian embrace altogether; and before the great West was incorporated into the Dominion in fact as well as in name, Macdonald and his colleagues were to have many an anxious moment.

Historians have not, as a rule, troubled to study at length the military side of the western problem as it presented itself during the years following 1869; and yet, among the developments which transformed the four-province Dominion of 1867 into a continental state stretching from ocean to ocean military considerations had a place of considerable importance. It is true that the Dominion ultimately succeeded in establishing its authority in the Red River Valley and on the prairies beyond without actual fighting. In the special circumstances of the day, however, the possession in those regions of some degree of military power was essential to this happy result. It was not merely that a great part of the population of the Red River Settlement viewed the proposed new order with suspicion; much more dangerous was the possible disposition of the United States to take advantage of this situation. Events connected with the recent Civil War had embittered the American public against Britain and had encouraged expansionism, which was known to have advocates in the highest circles in Washington and strong support in the western states; and the existence of a formidable Irish-American filibustering organization

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald Papers*, Private Letter Book no. 12, 890-1.

afforded a weapon for possible "indirect aggression." In these circumstances there was a very real danger that the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company might be manœuvred out of British control before Canada could tighten her hand upon them. Such were the possibilities of the situation created late in 1869, when the Métis of Red River Settlement offered successful resistance to the assertion of Canadian authority; and a Canadian future for these lands was not assured until the Dominion had demonstrated her ability to place in Manitoba forces sufficient to overawe domestic malcontents and secure the region against any external menace short of actual invasion by the United States. To make such a demonstration was no simple matter.

## I

It was isolation that had enabled the Hudson's Bay Company to maintain its territorial rights without the aid of armed force. So long as Red River Settlement remained an island of civilization separated by many hundreds of miles from any other white community, the people of the settlement, and the Indians of the plains, dependent upon the Company and cut off from other influences, necessarily accepted the existing state of things. So far as the settlement's southern boundary was concerned, however, this proved to be only a passing phase. On this side, isolation had depended, not on any natural obstacle, but merely on the emptiness of the American lands adjoining; and it vanished as population poured into Minnesota in the middle years of the century. This region, admitted as a state into the union in 1858, had 172,000 people at the census of 1860, and was carrying on a regular and extensive commerce with Red River. The stream which gave the settlement its name provided a natural means of transport across the boundary: the first steamboat reached Fort Garry in 1859. Traffic by land was also increasing; and the Company's decision to import its goods by St. Paul instead of by the traditional route through York Factory emphasized the fundamental nature of the change that had taken place.<sup>2</sup> The advent of American influence meant trouble for the Company, for opportunity and encouragement were given to disaffected elements within its territories. In

<sup>2</sup>The Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains . . . a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, in 1859 and 1860* (Edinburgh, 1875), 34. Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858* (2 vols., London, 1860), II, 218-19; Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London, n.d.), 853-4.

these new circumstances it sought to counterbalance the American menace by begging the British government for aid in the solid form of a garrison of regular troops. A detachment of the 6th Foot was stationed at Fort Garry from 1846 to 1848, and one of the Royal Canadian Rifles from 1857 to 1861. These were tranquil periods in the history of the colony, but the War Office declined to perpetuate the arrangement. No armed force was available to support the Company's authority after 1861; and this lack contributed materially to its final decline, and made possible the disorders of 1869-70.<sup>3</sup>

"The extreme difficulty of access" was a primary reason for the unwillingness of the authorities in London to establish a permanent garrison at Fort Garry;<sup>4</sup> and this calls attention to the fact that while the region had become much more accessible from the United States, no similar change had taken place on the side of Canada. The vast area of precambrian rocks known nowadays as the "Canadian shield" was a formidable natural barrier with difficulties for the engineer so serious and permanent that, thanks to its influence, it is still impracticable to drive a motor-car from Toronto to Winnipeg on Canadian soil. In the summer months travel by steamer was possible from the settled regions of Ontario to the head of Lake Superior; but even beyond this point some 400 miles of the shield lay between the lake and the friendlier lands fringing the Red River. The situation was well summarized by an American officer who was employed with the boundary commission that worked in this area in the early seventies:

The peculiar isolation of the distant regions lying about the Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba . . . is due, not simply to distance from the centers of civilization, for their distance from the settled portions of Canada, and from the ocean communication by the Saint Lawrence, is no greater, and, in fact, is much less, than that of many of the Northwestern States and Territories of the United States from their respective centers of trade along the eastern coast. The difficulty has been in the singularly impracticable nature of the country, and of the water-routes lying to the north-west of Lake Superior. This region of swamps and sterile pine-lands has opposed an effectual barrier to communication toward the Canadas, and has forced the traffic of these remote settlements to find an outlet through Minnesota. . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See the present writer's "The Hudson's Bay Company and Anglo-American Military Rivalries during the Oregon Dispute" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVIII, Sept., 1937).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup>Report of Captain (Brevet Major) Twining, in Archibald Campbell and Captain W. J. Twining, *Reports upon the Survey of the Boundary between the Territory of the United States and the Possessions of Great Britain from the Lake of the Woods to the Summit of the Rocky Mountains* . . . (Washington, 1878), 47-8.

When it is recalled that on both occasions when British troops had been sent to Red River the War Office had moved them by Hudson Bay in preference to risking the use of the canoe route west from Lake Superior, the military shortcomings of the latter communication become obvious.<sup>6</sup> In 1857 Sir George Simpson expressed the opinion that it was "quite impracticable for any body of Troops."<sup>7</sup> Captain Palliser, who explored the country at the same period, was completely pessimistic concerning the possibility of effective connection with it by an all-British route; he thought that there were "no means of access to be recommended save those *viâ* the United States":

The direct route from England *viâ* York Factory, and also that from Canada *viâ* Lake Superior, are too tedious, difficult and expensive for the generality of settlers. The manner in which natural obstacles have isolated the country from all other British possessions in the East is a matter of considerable weight; indeed, it is *the* obstacle of the country, and one, I fear, almost beyond the remedies of art. The egress and ingress to the settlement from the east is obviously by the Red River Valley and through the States.<sup>8</sup>

When, about 1856, Canadians began to turn their eyes towards the Hudson's Bay territories and to talk of their country's western destiny, their first care was to seek a solution for this problem which so many good judges regarded as insoluble. In 1857 the provincial government despatched an expedition "to examine the country between Lake Superior and the Red River of the North, with a view to determine the best route for opening a communication between that lake and the settlements on Red River."<sup>9</sup> These Canadian explorers, in striking contrast with Palliser, displayed a confidence and optimism worthy of pioneers of national expansion. They were unanimous in the opinion that a practicable communication could be established, though they differed on details. Professor Hind favoured a variant of the old North West Company route by the Pigeon River, lying for the most part directly upon the international boundary;<sup>10</sup> but the expedition's engineer, S. J.

<sup>6</sup>For documents concerning the movement of the Royal Canadian Rifles to and from Red River Settlement, and their work there during the years 1857-61, see Public Archives of Canada, *Series C*, vol. 364.

<sup>7</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 153, pp. 310 ff., Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Eyre to Lord Panmure, Jan. 12, 1857, copy. This volume contains a number of interesting documents on the project for a garrison at Fort Garry.

<sup>8</sup>*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 1860, cd. 2732 (XLIV), "Further Papers relative to the Exploration by the Expedition under Captain Palliser . . .," 5. The opinion is repeated in Palliser's "Journals, Detailed Reports, and Observations . . ." (*ibid.*, 1863, cd. 3164, XXXIX, 6), where he makes a definite recommendation against expenditure for the improvement of the canoe route.

<sup>9</sup>Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857*, I, 3.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 76; II, 216-17.

Dawson, in a report published in 1859, advocated a line, beginning with a road from Thunder Bay to Dog Lake, which in its eastern section was well within Canadian territory.<sup>11</sup> This report was the origin of the so-called Dawson route, which played an important part in the drama of Canada's acquisition of the West.

As the great project of western expansion approached realization, the opening of this communication became a matter of immediate interest. Even before Confederation, the province of Canada made a small beginning, constructing six miles of road inland from Lake Superior at Fort William; and one of the early acts of the first Dominion ministry was to obtain a new report from Dawson,<sup>12</sup> and to commission him to undertake further explorations. The result was a modification of his project at the Lake Superior end. Now, in 1869, he proposed that the road here should connect with Lake Shebandowan instead of Dog Lake.<sup>13</sup> The scheme was adopted by the government, and work on this road began in the same year under Dawson's own direction. At the far western extremity of the proposed communication, it had started even earlier. A plague of locusts had caused distress at Red River Settlement, and Ottawa now thought to provide employment there, and at the same time advance its own policy, by commencing a road to connect Fort Garry with the Lake of the Woods. Construction began in the autumn of 1868, and considerable progress was made during 1869.<sup>14</sup> Incidents arising out of this enterprise contributed to the feeling of mistrust among the inhabitants of the settlement which led to the disturbances which broke out in the latter year.<sup>15</sup>

The Dawson route, now actually becoming a reality, stretched

<sup>11</sup>*Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, and between the latter Place and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan* (Toronto, 1859). George Gladman was director of the 1857 expedition, with Hind and Dawson under him as geologist and surveyor respectively. In 1858 Gladman was dispensed with, and the expedition organized in two divisions, one under Hind, the other under Dawson. In 1861, at the time of the withdrawal of the Royal Canadian Rifles from Red River, Gladman tried to prevail on the Canadian government to open a route by Lake Superior, the particular line which he favoured being that by Whitefish Lake (Public Archives of Canada, *Series C*, vol. 364, pp. 319-38, Gladman to Governor-General's Secretary, Feb. 22, 1861).

<sup>12</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1867-8, no. 81, "Report on the Line of Route between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement." Cf. the recapitulation in the annual report of the Minister of Public Works for the year ending June 30, 1869 (*ibid.*, 1870, no. 2, pp. 44 ff.).

<sup>13</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 42, report dated May 1, 1869, reprinted in *ibid.*, 1870, no. 12.

<sup>14</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1870, no. 2, pp. 44-5; and see reports of Dawson and John A. Snow in *ibid.*, no. 12.

<sup>15</sup>J. J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal, 1871), 449 ff.; Chester Martin in *Canada and Its Provinces* (23 vols., Toronto, 1914-17), XIX, 68-9.

for 452.05 miles from Prince Arthur's Landing (now Port Arthur) to Fort Garry. It consisted of three main sections: the Thunder Bay road, 45 miles long, from Prince Arthur's to Shebandowan; a central section of mixed land and water transport comprising "twelve portages and thirteen disconnected reaches of water of various extent," ending with the journey across Rainy Lake and down Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods, and across the latter to its north-west angle; and finally, the Fort Garry road, 95 miles long, running thence overland to Red River Settlement.<sup>16</sup> For rather more than one-third of the whole distance (from Lac Lacroix, east of Rainy Lake, to the north-west angle) it was practically coincident with the American border. From the beginning, Dawson looked forward to incorporating railways into the scheme; his report of 1869 envisages the conversion of the two terminal waggon roads into rail lines, and the improvement of the intervening navigation by means of locks and dams, to permit the use of steamers; while he perceived the possibility of making his project part of a communication with the Pacific, to be effected either by a complete railway from Fort Garry or by combining navigation on the Saskatchewan and a railway through the mountains. He recognized, however, that what the immediate circumstances demanded was a "preliminary communication" utilizing boats and waggons.<sup>17</sup> Before even this could be opened, trouble broke out at Red River; and at a time when the Thunder Bay road was only nicely begun, and that through the swamps west of the Lake of the Woods was in a still more elemental state, Canada faced the possibility of having to send an expeditionary force to Fort Garry. Strategy in British North America had always been primarily a problem in communications; but this campaign promised to be dominated by this factor to an extent previously unknown.

## II

The Red River expedition of 1870 was necessary to the future of the West: not, we have suggested above, so much because of the feelings of the settlers (for the worst domestic problems, which could have been obviated by a little foresight in the first place, were solved by the conciliatory policy embodied in the Manitoba

<sup>16</sup>These distances are those given at a period when the route had become well established (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1874, no. 2, pp. 48 ff.); early estimates were somewhat lower.

<sup>17</sup>Report of May 1, 1869; see note 13, above.

Act passed before the troops moved) as of the danger of interference from American territory. It was not likely that the United States government would actually provoke war in order to seize the Hudson's Bay Company's lands, though had it chosen to do so they could scarcely have been defended. It had, however, opportunities for less direct action which might produce the same result. John A. Macdonald, summing up Ottawa's apprehensions, wrote on January 28, 1870, "It is quite evident to me . . . that the United States Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them."<sup>18</sup> We know that there were grounds for fear. The United States Senate had already shown its interest by asking President Grant for information on the Red River crisis; somewhat later, its leading anglophobe, Zach Chandler, introduced a resolution requesting him to send agents thither to treat with the inhabitants for annexation. On December 30, 1869, Grant's Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, appointed James W. Taylor, a Minnesotan of annexationist views, a secret special agent charged with investigation of the Canadian situation in general and the Red River question in particular.<sup>19</sup> Fish himself clearly hoped that the half-breeds' resistance to Canadian authority could be turned to the advantage of the United States. At this time he was pressing the British government, through its minister at Washington, to concede the independence of Canada as a prelude to annexation and the means of facilitating "the settlement of all other questions between the two governments";<sup>20</sup> and the movement at Fort Garry appeared to fit neatly into the design. Not only did he use it as an argument in interviews with Thornton, but on January 14, 1870, he instructed J. L. Motley at the American legation in London to lose no opportunity of sounding British statesmen on the separation of the colonies from the mother country, of "indicating the facts which seem to make such separation a necessity," and in particular of giving discreet encouragement to the idea

<sup>18</sup>Sir Joseph Pope (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, n.d.), 124, to C. J. Brydges (private).

<sup>19</sup>J. M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations* (New York, 1937), 315-17; Theodore C. Blegen, "James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch" (*Minnesota History Bulletin*, Nov., 1915). One of Taylor's early reports is in 41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 33, submitted in answer to the Senate's request. Annexed to it is what is evidently a letter of Taylor to the *Washington Chronicle*, containing the remark, "The country whose destiny is now at issue has resources ample to constitute four States equal to Minnesota."

<sup>20</sup>Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York, 1936), 386.



of the annexation of the Hudson's Bay Company lands to the United States.<sup>21</sup>

In Minnesota such ideas had a very definite appeal, and there were, perhaps, fewer scruples about methods there than in Washington. As early as March, 1868, the state legislature had memorialized the national government on the proposed transfer of the Company's territories to Canada, announcing that it would rejoice in "the cession of Northwest British America to the United States";<sup>22</sup> now, on January 15, 1870, one of the Minnesota senators, Alexander Ramsey, dropped in on Grant with the suggestion that if "about \$25,000" could be sent to the insurgents at Fort Garry, "they would be able to maintain themselves." Fish, who was present, remarked that there was no appropriation from which the money could be taken, "and besides we should not use money in that way"; and the President, who could be thoroughly punctilious on occasion, agreed with him.<sup>23</sup> Minnesota newspaper editorials indicated the trend of western aspiration. One comment ran:

The true policy of our government is to preserve an armed neutrality, and while refusing transit to British troops, to send at once a strong garrison to Pembina as a force of observation, and to defend our own frontier against the eventualities of the revolution.

Consequences of profound importance hinge upon the policy which our government may pursue—which, if no false step be taken, will in less than three years insure the annexation to the United States of the whole immense region from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, and from the international boundary to the North Pole, and in no long time thereafter Canada and the lower provinces [*sic*] must gravitate by the resistless force of economic laws and political and geographical affinities, to the same great center, and round out with their annexation the *continental unity* of American dominion.<sup>24</sup>

An especially dangerous element on the chessboard was the Fenian Brotherhood. John O'Neill, the leader of the faction whose policy was an attack upon Canada, was actively preparing for another campaign, and had available large stocks of war material. At Fort Garry, one member of Louis Riel's provisional government, W. B. O'Donoghue, was highly sympathetic to O'Neill's aims and methods. Had the Brotherhood concentrated its resources upon

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 386, 388; Callahan, *American Foreign Policy*, 316.

<sup>22</sup>41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 33, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup>Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, 387. In 1867 Ramsey had proposed in Congress the purchase by the United States of all the Hudson's Bay Territories (L. B. Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874*, New Haven, 1939, 201).

<sup>24</sup>*St. Paul Free Press* [*? Daily Press*], editorial reprinted in 41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 33, pp. 9-10. It is interesting that material of this sort should find its way into a report supplied by the State Department for the information of the United States Senate.



Red River, instead of continuing to plan hopeless invasions of Ontario and Quebec, it might have struck a really deadly blow at the British Empire; for if it had managed to set up at Fort Garry a régime which asked annexation to the United States, Washington might well have seized the opportunity. As it was, O'Neill was not entirely oblivious to the western situation, and it was part of his plan for 1870 to have small forces harass the Red River expedition;<sup>25</sup> but Colonel Wolseley took careful precautions, and no attack materialized. Only in 1871, when the great opportunity had passed and his own prestige had been sapped by failure, did O'Neill attempt an enterprise against Fort Garry.

Every element in the United States which hoped to prevent the establishment of Canadian authority in the West relied with confidence upon the natural obstacles in the way of communication between Ontario and Manitoba. Fish pointed out to Thornton that "the topographical condition of the country precludes intimate commercial relations between Canada and the Selkirk settlement";<sup>26</sup> the American consular representative at Winnipeg expressed the belief that Canada could not suppress the rising unless the United States granted her permission to send troops across American territory;<sup>27</sup> and the *St. Paul Daily Press*, assuming that "no Canadian army . . . will ever be permitted to pass over American soil to subjugate the friendly people of the Northwest Territory," advised Canada to "say to England that she does not want these sour grapes which hang so far beyond her reach":

And in the mean time, whenever the people of the Northwest Territory, after having successfully vindicated their liberties and maintained their independence against Canada, shall declare themselves in favor of annexation to the United States, the United States, they may rest assured, will welcome them with open arms, and England will gladly avail herself of such a providential opportunity to settle the Alabama claims with the cession of a country whose destinies God has indissolubly wedded to ours by geographical affinities which no human power can sunder, as He has divorced it from Canada by physical barriers which no human power can overcome.<sup>28</sup>

With such pious convictions abroad, it was fairly clear that a necessary preliminary to the acceptance of Canadian authority in the West was proof of the Dominion's ability to move a respectable military force into the territory by a British route. Further-

<sup>25</sup>*Official Report of Gen. John O'Neill . . . on the Attempt to Invade Canada, May 25th, 1870* . . . (New York, 1870), 16.

<sup>26</sup>Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, 386.

<sup>27</sup>41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 33, pp. 5-6, Oscar Malmros to the acting Secretary of State, Nov. 6, 1869.

<sup>28</sup>Dec. 23, 1869; reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

more, since it was well known that the hostile American elements were banking heavily on the current anti-imperialism in Britain,<sup>29</sup> it seemed to Macdonald essential that such a force should be partly imperial in character, to "show the United States Government and people that England is resolved not to abandon her Colonies, or is indifferent to the future of the Great West";<sup>30</sup> and though the idea was not especially popular in Whitehall, he won his point.

We need not tell here the story of the Red River expedition.<sup>31</sup> It is enough to recall that during the summer of 1870 a force of approximately 1,200 officers and men, commanded by Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal Viscount) Wolseley, overcame the obstacles of which so much had been said and written, and occupied Fort Garry without encountering resistance. The most serious man-made difficulty which had to be surmounted was the work, not of Riel or the Fenians, but of Mr. Fish. He had attempted to prevent the expedition by suggesting to the British minister "that no attempt be made at military subjugation, that a war there would complicate and endanger the relations of the two countries."<sup>32</sup> The troops moved in spite of him; but the fact that the steamers used by the expedition were obliged to pass through the American canal at Sault Ste. Marie (where no Canadian canal yet existed) gave him an opportunity which, for a moment, he could not resist. The Canadian authorities had never intended to send troops through the canal, preferring to march them across the portage on the Canadian side and re-embark them above; but it had apparently been proposed to leave the non-military stores on board during the vessels' transit. The precaution had been taken of slipping one steamer through at an early stage, to ensure the possession of some transport on Lake Superior;<sup>33</sup> but on May 3 the Governor of Michigan telegraphed Fish that Canada appeared to contemplate sending troops through the canal. Fish replied

<sup>29</sup>For evidence of this, see (to go no further), *ibid.*, pp. 43-4, and Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, 384-8.

<sup>30</sup>C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936), 234, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 5, 1870. Cf. the careful study by G. F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (London, 1936), chap. vii.

<sup>31</sup>There is a considerable literature on the subject. The most important references may be found in *ibid.*, 424-5, and in Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 239-40.

<sup>32</sup>Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, 395-6. It is due to Fish to remark that this may have been partly the result of apprehension that hostilities at Red River might lead to a serious Indian war; such fear, real or feigned, had been expressed in Minnesota (41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 33, pp. 6, 10, 36, 42).

<sup>33</sup>"Narrative of the Red River Expedition—Part II. By an officer of the Expeditionary Force" (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Jan., 1871). For the reasons for believing the "officer" to have been Wolseley himself, see *Canada and the British Army*, 239, n. 7.

that the President desired "that no military expedition of any foreign power, whether of troops or of boats, intended for the purpose of taking part in any military or warlike expedition, or of warlike material, be allowed to pass through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal without express instructions to that effect from the government at Washington." All Canadian traffic through the canal was then suspended. The Governor-General now pointed out to Thornton that Canada had always treated the United States generously with respect to her own canals, even permitting armed revenue cutters to pass through them to the Atlantic during the Civil War; he added that no munitions of war, "not even tents," would be sent through the canal. Thornton took the matter up with the State Department, basing his argument on the fact that the expedition to Red River had no hostile character, but was being sent merely "with the object of maintaining good order in that district, and of insuring the regular and harmonious establishment of the new government." On May 16, in consequence, the Governor of Michigan was informed that the President did not desire to oppose the passage of Canadian vessels "so long as they do not carry troops and munitions of war."<sup>34</sup> The difficulty, however, had necessitated employing labourers intended for the Thunder Bay road on the portage road at the Sault, and Dawson, who was working hard to get the expedition forward, estimated that this had delayed it "for at least a fortnight or three weeks."<sup>35</sup>

The issue of the expedition undoubtedly proved that the Dawson route, however limited its commercial possibilities, was a valuable political and military asset to the new nation. And it must be remembered that in 1870 the contemplated improvements upon it had hardly commenced. The troops themselves had to help complete the Thunder Bay road, and even so its deficiencies compelled resort to water transport by the Kaministiquia; the troops themselves had to clear the portage paths; and since the Fort Garry road was not yet passable the expedition had to move by the much longer and more toilsome water route by the Winnipeg River. The actual number of portages between Lake Shebandowan and Fort Garry was forty-seven.<sup>36</sup> Not the least of the expedition's triumphs was the demonstration that heavy boats

<sup>34</sup>Official correspondence in 41st Congress, 2d session, *Senate Executive Document* no. 88. Additional material in Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, 133-4, 425, where it is pointed out that it might have been wiser for the Canadians to make application for the use of the canal in advance.

<sup>35</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1871, no. 4, pp. 129 ff., report dated June 30, 1870.

<sup>36</sup>Captain G. L. Huyshe, *The Red River Expedition* (London, 1871), 104 n.

could be employed throughout the water journey, "though no boats or any vessel larger or heavier than a bark canoe had ever been used in the vast wilderness of rock, swamp and lake which intervenes between Thunder Bay and Fort Frances."<sup>37</sup> The transit to Manitoba of more than a thousand troops with artillery<sup>38</sup> and stores had fundamentally altered the relationship of Canada to her new territories. Seen in retrospect, indeed, the expedition, undertaken with so much doubt and reluctance and involving so many Anglo-Canadian difficulties,<sup>39</sup> appears as a singularly successful stroke of policy. When Wolseley's travel-stained riflemen gave their three cheers on the muddy square of Fort Garry on August 24, 1870, the danger of the great plains being lost to Canada was almost at an end.

Nevertheless, serious problems still remained. Continued military protection was essential to the security of the new province of Manitoba, both against filibustering threats from across the border and the backwash of the recent domestic difficulties. This could be provided by a modest garrison at Winnipeg. But beyond Manitoba lay the great expanse of the North West Territories, almost unpopulated save for the Indian tribes, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the whiskey-sellers from the United States. Thanks to these last, the territories were rapidly falling into a most unpleasant state of anarchy; and unless Canada could find means of making her authority felt there too, the destiny which she had mapped for the West could not be realized.

### III

The Canadian government would have been glad to have had imperial troops remain at Fort Garry; but London saw things in a different light.<sup>40</sup> The regulars immediately returned to the east, and it fell to the Canadian troops of the expedition—two battalions of rifles raised for the occasion from the militia—to form the garrison. One battalion occupied Fort Garry, the other the "stone fort" twenty miles down the river, and an outpost company

<sup>37</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1871, no. 4, p. 131. E. M. Hopkins of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote in 1860 that the route between Rainy Lake and Lake Superior was practicable only for bark canoes (Public Archives of Canada, *Series C*, vol. 364, p. 294, to Lieut.-Gen. Williams, Nov. 6).

<sup>38</sup>Two bronze 7-pounders with ammunition were taken to Fort Garry by the detachment of Royal Artillery which formed part of the expedition. Two others were mounted on the redoubt built at Prince Arthur's Landing to protect the expedition's advanced base against Fenian attempts (Huyshe, *Red River Expedition*, 57-8, 105).

<sup>39</sup>*Canada and the British Army*, 238-41.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 240-1.

was placed at Pembina on the border. In the spring of 1871, however, the Dominion government, succumbing to that parsimony which is so familiar in Canadian military history, reduced the force in Manitoba to two companies, a nominal total of 100 men. The remainder were withdrawn to Ontario in June by the Winnipeg River route.<sup>41</sup> The government had doubtless been encouraged by the fact that Anglo-American relations now wore a much more pleasant aspect (the Treaty of Washington having been signed on May 6); but it soon became apparent that it had erred.

On October 5, 1871, John O'Neill made his last foray against Canada. O'Donoghue had sought him out and prevailed upon him to attempt at this late date the movement upon Manitoba which if undertaken in the previous year might have had such grave consequences. The raid was a poor affair; the fiasco of O'Neill's campaign on the Quebec border in May of 1870 had destroyed his influence, and now fewer than fifty men would follow him; and the worst apprehensions of the Manitoba government were relieved at a late stage of the crisis by a loyal rally of half-breeds headed by Riel himself—an episode which later was a source of some embarrassment at Ottawa. O'Neill's only success, the seizure and plundering of the Hudson's Bay post at Pembina, was terminated by the arrival of United States troops who arrested him and carried him back to American soil.<sup>42</sup> The American authorities were now acting in a very different spirit from that displayed in the Sault Canal affair. Nevertheless, the episode caused grave alarm; and although Governor Archibald at Winnipeg had no trouble in enrolling nearly a thousand volunteers to reinforce his tiny garrison, he urged the Dominion government to send him additional troops. They might be sent up, he thought, as private citizens by the American railroads; "but they ought to be here before the winter sets in, if you wish to consider the country safe."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1872, no. 4, pp. 108 ff., report of July 17, 1871. On the garrison during the winter of 1870-1, see S. B. Steele, *Forty Years in Canada* (London, 1915), 33-46.

<sup>42</sup>On this affair, see J. P. Pritchett, "The Origin of the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X, March, 1929); Blegen, "James Wickes Taylor" (above); Henri Le Caron (Thomas Beach), *Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service* (London, 1892), 97-9. Canadian official documents are to be found in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1872, nos. 8 and 26. Secret service material on preparations for the raid, *Macdonald Papers*, "Fenians," vol. 6. Diplomatic exchanges, Sept.-Oct., 1871, in Public Archives of Canada, *Series G* (unnumbered), "from H. M. Minister at Washington, 1869-71." At the time of this raid, it was uncertain whether the Hudson's Bay post was on the Canadian or the American side of the forty-ninth parallel.

<sup>43</sup>Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1872, no. 26, pp. 10-11, report of Oct. 13. Actually

Another military expedition to Manitoba was now organized in haste. On October 12 the Adjutant-General was instructed to despatch 200 men to Fort Garry, and to send Lieutenant-Colonel W. Osborne Smith, who had been O'Neill's nemesis at Eccles Hill, to take command in the new province. Smith went by the United States, but the troops, commanded by Captain (Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel) Thomas Scott, a veteran of Wolseley's expedition, followed the Dawson route. The men were volunteers from the militia (half from Ontario and half from Quebec); and they found the enterprise no picnic, for the hand of winter was already closing on the western lakes. On the Lake of the Woods, indeed, they were obliged to abandon their boats and march the last few miles to the "north-west angle" across the ice. But they did the task that had been set them, marching into Fort Garry on November 18, twenty-five days after disembarking at Thunder Bay; and the Adjutant-General ventured the inaccurate prophecy that Scott's expedition, "composed entirely of Canadian Militia, commanded by a Canadian officer, and so promptly carried out," would "long be remembered with feelings of pride by every Canadian."<sup>44</sup>

This expedition was the first to use the whole of the Dawson route; for the waggon road between the Lake of the Woods and Winnipeg was now passable, and was a considerable improvement upon the line by the Winnipeg River. Other improvements had been effected in recent months, notably the provision on a number of the lakes of diminutive steam-launches for towing purposes.<sup>45</sup> In June, 1871, an "Emigrant Transport Service" had begun work under the Department of Public Works; and during that season, including the troops, 604 persons passed over the line.<sup>46</sup> The crisis had demonstrated once more that the route was a military necessity, and had further shown that in its improved state it had somewhat larger possibilities than could have been argued from Wolseley's experience alone.<sup>47</sup> Dawson, highly pleased with

the government seems to have ordered the reinforcement as soon as news of the raid reached Ottawa.

<sup>44</sup>The episode is described in detail in an article by the present writer, "The Second Red River Expedition, 1871" (*Canadian Defence Quarterly*, Jan., 1931).

<sup>45</sup>Some of these quaint craft appear in the illustrations to G. M. Grant's *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, 1873), which includes an excellent account of the Dawson route in its heyday.

<sup>46</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1872, no. 4, pp. 40 ff., 108 ff.; 1873, no. 6, pp. 37, 127 ff.

<sup>47</sup>Colonel Smith in his report recalls that "a distinguished officer of H.M. Regular Forces" had pronounced the route impracticable to troops after the middle of September, and that "high encomiums have been passed on an expedition for accomplishing a march during the long and pleasant days of summer over the same ground which H.M. Domin-

the performance, spoke in the highest terms of Scott and his merry men. Such troops, he wrote, would be quite equal to "a winter march on snowshoes . . . from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry" in case of need.<sup>48</sup> He did not add that Thunder Bay's own winter isolation from the East made any such operation highly improbable, or that it would have been impossible to reinforce Manitoba before the spring had the emergency happened just a few weeks later.

#### IV

The Dominion government had now learned its lesson, and for some time to come a respectable permanent garrison was maintained at Winnipeg. This force, composed of volunteers from the militia enlisted (from 1872) for three years, comprised in 1873 a provisional battalion of infantry and an artillery detachment of one officer and 25 other ranks. The actual aggregate strength was just 300 all ranks. The Dawson route served this garrison as a regular line of communication, by which new drafts could be received and time-expired men withdrawn to the East. In October of 1872, a force of 215 men with two guns was sent west over it, the time consumed being twenty-five days from Collingwood to Fort Garry. For a time detachments were kept at the "stone fort" and at Pembina, but when the Adjutant-General visited the North-west in 1872 he ordered the force concentrated at Fort Garry proper, at the same time recommending the construction of a new military post nearby. This was done, the new establishment being christened Fort Osborne, presumably in honour of Colonel Smith.<sup>49</sup>

No more raids or "rebellions" took place, but the force was not entirely idle. Once it was called out to quell an election riot;<sup>50</sup> in July of 1873 fifty men were detached to White Horse Plains, west of Winnipeg, to suppress disturbances; and there were other instances of aid to the civil power.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes the troops were employed on entirely non-military duty, as when an officer's party, working in temperatures as low as 35 below zero, helped to enforce a smallpox quarantine in northern Manitoba in 1876.<sup>52</sup> As General

ion troops have now traversed during the brief daylight of an almost Arctic winter" (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1872, no. 8, p. 82).

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 1873, no. 6, p. 133.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, no. 9, pp. c-cii, cvii-cxi. On Fort Osborne, J. C. Hamilton, *The Prairie Province* (Toronto, 1876), 38.

<sup>50</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1873, no. 9, pp. cix-cx.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 1874, no. 7, pp. 35-7.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 1877, no. 7, pp. 49-51.



Selby-Smyth observed, the fact that the garrison was seldom called upon to act was no criterion of its usefulness; its mere presence was sufficient to keep order among "a mixed population composed of different nationalities and prejudices, situated so close to the boundary line of a foreign State that the Province as yet continues a refuge for persons of lawless character from the other side." He pointed out that the population of Winnipeg had grown from 600 to 5000 in four years; in such circumstances, there was much to be said for having some organized force available.<sup>53</sup>

The troops at Winnipeg, however, made their presence felt beyond the area immediately surrounding the city, and even beyond the boundaries of Manitoba. In the autumn of 1873 a company of the provisional battalion marched to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods to form a guard for the commissioners engaged in negotiating a treaty with the Ojibway Indians for the extinguishment of their title to the land through which the Dawson route passed. The troops' presence, the Lieutenant-Governor reported, "had the effect of deterring traders from bringing articles of illicit trade for sale to the Indians; and moreover exercised a moral influence which contributed most materially to the success of the negotiations."<sup>54</sup> In the following year a more ambitious expedition was made for a similar purpose, in connection with negotiations with the Crees and Saulteaux for the surrender of about 75,000 square miles in what is now the province of Saskatchewan. The meeting took place at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, 351 miles west of Winnipeg. A column of 113 all ranks, including a detachment of artillery with a dismounted 7-pounder, reached Qu'Appelle from Winnipeg on September 8, having marched on an average seventeen and a half miles a day. On the return march, from September 18 to October 4, they actually averaged twenty and one-third miles, and covered twenty-seven miles in one day. Smith, who was himself in command, was properly proud of this remarkable infantry performance, and took special satisfaction in pointing out that during it the troops' health grew better rather than worse.<sup>55</sup> The Lieutenant-Governor again commented on the useful influence exerted by the troops' presence; he believed that it had "prevented the jealousies and ancient feud between the Crees and Saulteaux culminating in acts of violence."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 1876, no. 7, p. iv.

<sup>54</sup>Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto, 1880), 52. Cf. *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1874, no. 7, p. 36.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 1875, no. 6, pp. 50-5.

<sup>56</sup>Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, 82.



This episode of 1874 was the first appearance of British soldiers in the heart of the prairie country, and undoubtedly made some contribution towards the establishment of order there. At this very moment, however, measures more effective than any that could be founded upon the presence of an infantry garrison at Fort Osborne were being taken for the same end. A new era, in fact, was about to dawn in the far West.

From the time of Wolseley's expedition, the problem of order in the North West Territories had engaged the attention of the Dominion government and officials in the West. As early as October, 1870, Archibald had entrusted Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir William) Butler with a mission of inquiry in the matter. Butler travelled 2,700 miles through the country, and in March, 1871, reported, "As matters at present rest, the region of the Saskatchewan is without law, order, or security for life or property." The remedy, he thought, might lie in "a well-equipped force of from 100 to 150 men, one-third to be mounted, specially recruited and engaged for service in the Saskatchewan," supporting a properly-constituted civil administration.<sup>57</sup> Nothing was done that year; but in 1872 a soldier of greater seniority, Colonel Patrick Robertson Ross, the Dominion's Adjutant-General, was asked to make further investigations. After a tour which took him to the Pacific coast,<sup>58</sup> he reported a state of complete anarchy on the prairies, resulting largely from the operations of "American Smugglers and Traders" who sold the Indians both spirits and fire-arms. "Beyond the Province of Manitoba," he wrote, "westward to the Rocky Mountains, there is no kind of government at present whatever, and no security for life or property beyond what people can do for themselves." His prescription was a regiment of mounted riflemen, 550 strong. Incidentally, he had discovered that the Indians looked askance at the rifle-green clothing of the garrison of Winnipeg, saying "we know that the soldiers of our great mother wear red coats and are our friends." He therefore ordered the transformation of the rifle battalion into scarlet-clad infantry.<sup>59</sup>

Other redcoats were soon to make their appearance in the

<sup>57</sup>Archibald's instructions, and Butler's report, are printed as an appendix to the latter's *The Great Lone Land* (London, 1872).

<sup>58</sup>For part of the journey, he was a fellow-traveller with G. M. Grant: see the latter's *Ocean to Ocean*, 354.

<sup>59</sup>At the same time, the strength of the artillery detachment was somewhat increased. Robertson Ross' report ("Reconnaissance of the North West Provinces and Indian Territories of the Dominion of Canada . . .") is in *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1873, no. 9, pp. cviii-cxxvii. There are few more interesting documents in Canadian history.

West. It was quite clear now that conditions there were going from bad to worse; settlement of the prairies, in the existing state of things, was impossible, and unless something was done it was even possible that the country might yet be lost. A few weeks after Robertson Ross had made his report, Lord Dufferin was able to inform the Colonial Office that something was being done. It had been rumoured, he wrote, that the Sioux of "Dakotah," angered by a fancied insult, intended to raid Fort Ellice, a Hudson's Bay Company establishment six days west of Winnipeg. Precautions had therefore been taken:

A garrison of 50 men with an ample supply of provisions are to be thrown into Fort Ellice.

Luckily one of the best officers in the Dominion Lt. Col: Osborn[e] Smith happens to be the Deputy Adjutant Genl. commanding at Fort Garry. . . .

In addition to this precaution my Govt. has brought in a Bill enabling the Governor General in Council to organize a permanent force of mounted police for special service in Manitoba and the North West. . . .<sup>60</sup>

The story of the North West Mounted Police is familiar.<sup>61</sup> It is enough to recall here that the Dominion government, having at first (perhaps remembering Butler's very optimistic report) persisted in fixing the strength of the force raised in 1873 at 150 men, consented in 1874 to increase it to 300; that late in the summer of the latter year the police marched west to take up their posts in the Indian country; that when their coming was reported the obnoxious whiskey-traders stayed not upon the order of their going, but went; and that in 1877, on the occasion of the negotiation of Indian Treaty Number Seven, old Chief Crowfoot of the Blackfeet said, "The Police have protected us as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I wish them all good, and trust that all our hearts will increase in goodness from this time forward. I am satisfied. I will sign the treaty."<sup>62</sup>

It is in order to observe in passing that while the force had a civil character (and to this owed much of its strength) it was also in a definite sense a military body. A glance at its original personnel suggests that it was largely a by-product of the imperial and colonial military services, and of the military spirit which

<sup>60</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. (unnumbered), "Confidential Despatches 1867-1873," p. 403, Dufferin to Kimberley, secret, May 7, 1873. Apparently the anticipated military movement to Fort Ellice did not take place. See Alexander Begg, *History of the North-west* (3 vols., Toronto, 1894-5), II, 234-7.

<sup>61</sup>Two of the better books on the subject are R. C. Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (New York, 1938) and T. M. Longstreth, *The Silent Force* (New York, 1934).

<sup>62</sup>Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, 272.

recent events had fostered in Canada. One of the historians of the force states that of the 300 men as many as 150 had seen military service, while only fourteen had been in the Royal Irish Constabulary or other civil forces. The regular army contributed 41, the newly-formed permanent branch of the Canadian militia ("A" and "B" Batteries) 32, and the volunteer militia 87.<sup>63</sup> It was army and militia officers who organized and commanded the force; and both its problems and its methods, in its early years, were largely military.

Robertson Ross had hoped that the government would maintain the Winnipeg garrison in addition to organizing his "mounted rifles" for the prairie country, and had conceived the rifles as a purely military force additional to any constabulary that might be provided. He reckoned without governmental parsimony. Ottawa did not propose to support both the garrison and the mounted force, and it preferred to impose both civil and military functions upon the latter. In practice, therefore, the Mounted Police succeeded the Fort Osborne garrison as the chief support of order in the West; what was happening was that Canada's military frontier was being pushed westward, and the force employed was changing its character to fit changing functions. But the essential continuity appears in the manner in which the new force took up some of the functions of the old. In the Indian treaty negotiations of 1876 and 1877 the police assumed the role played by the troops in those of 1873 and 1874; and the fact that on these occasions they appeared with artillery and "an excellent band" made it clear that they were not excessively civilian in character.<sup>64</sup> There was even some continuity in personnel. When Major A. G. Irvine, who had been in command of the provisional battalion at Fort Osborne, left the military service in 1875, he was appointed to the police and in 1880 became commissioner;<sup>65</sup> and at least two other officers of the garrison entered the force.<sup>66</sup>

In opening Parliament in 1875, the Governor-General informed honourable members that the presence of the police in the North-

<sup>63</sup>Captain Ernest J. Chambers, *The Royal North-West Mounted Police: A Corps History* (Montreal, 1906), 21. Brigadier S. T. Wood, the present Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, informs the writer that a considerable part of the early records of the force were destroyed by fire many years ago; but since Captain Chambers had access to the records when writing his history, and was assisted by Colonel Fred White, the first Comptroller of the force, R.C.M.P. headquarters has always believed his figures to be correct.

<sup>64</sup>Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, 183, 254, 261, 263-5.

<sup>65</sup>*The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (first ed., Toronto, 1898), 494.

<sup>66</sup>See Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, 334-5, and A. L. Haydon, *The Riders of the Plains* (Toronto, 1910), 370, references to W. M. Herchmer and John Cotton.

west had enabled the government "to largely reduce the strength of the Military establishment in that country."<sup>67</sup> During 1874 the Winnipeg garrison had in fact been reduced to 200 all ranks, of whom 50 were artillery.<sup>68</sup> The next year it was cut in half, and again in 1876.<sup>69</sup> Finally, on August 3, 1877, the "Dominion Force" in Manitoba, totalling now only 54 all ranks, was disbanded. Colonel Smith wrote its epitaph in his annual report: "In appearance, discipline, and general efficiency, they were in no respect inferior to Her Majesty's Regular Forces."<sup>70</sup> The seven-year record of the Winnipeg garrison is an episode of some interest in the early history of the permanent military forces of Canada.

The disappearance of this garrison, which had been a link with the days of Wolseley's expedition, emphasized the change which had already come to Manitoba. The province, which had had only some 12,000 people in 1870,<sup>71</sup> was rapidly filling up, and would have more than 60,000 at the census of 1881. The multiplied dangers of 1870-1 were a thing of the past, the Dominion's volunteer militia system was taking root among the people,<sup>72</sup> and the need for special protective measures no longer existed. At the same moment, another essential factor in the province's military situation in its "critical period" was passing into limbo: the Dawson route was being abandoned. The efforts to turn it into a practicable emigrant route had not succeeded. Two good-sized steamers built at Fort Frances had been placed on it in 1873, and new steam launches were also provided; the total outlay on the route in 1872-3 was \$259,803. "The amount of travel," the Minister of Public Works reported, "has not kept pace with expectation, and the cost of maintaining the route appears in striking contrast with the extent of travel."<sup>73</sup> In the autumn of 1873 the first three divisions of the Mounted Police were sent west over the route, accompanied by a detachment of troops for the Winnipeg garrison, the total force being 197 men. "The force got safely through to its destina-

<sup>67</sup>*The Dominion Annual Register* . . . 1878, 33.

<sup>68</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1875, no. 6, pp. 50-55.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 1876, no. 7, pp. iv, 65-7; 1877, no. 7, pp. 49-51.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 1878, no. 8, pp. 56-9.

<sup>71</sup>Begg, *History of the North-west*, II, 31.

<sup>72</sup>But only rather slowly; Smith reported only three corps remaining in 1876, but others offering to organize; two new infantry companies were formed in 1877. On January 1, 1879, General Selby-Smyth reported that the somewhat unsatisfactory state of the militia in Manitoba was probably due to the hope "that a permanent force will again occupy Fort Osborne," a hope unlikely to be fulfilled (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1877, no. 7, pp. 49-51; 1878, no. 8, pp. 56-9; 1879, no. 5, p. xlv).

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 1874, no. 2, pp. 48-51. After the advent of the steamers, the time of transit from Thunder Bay to the north-west angle was reduced (in good weather) to six days.

tion, but many of the staff and working force of the route were frozen in, and were unable to return to their homes."<sup>74</sup> When the remaining divisions of the police went west next year, they travelled by the American railways, by permission of the United States government. In 1874 "a contract was awarded to Messrs. W. H. Carpenter & Co., to work the line and to carry passengers and freight."<sup>75</sup> This arrangement did not work well, and the contract was cancelled early in 1876. Dawson, who had stayed on as superintendent to supervise the contract, had resigned in 1875.<sup>76</sup> From 1876 the route was virtually abandoned, though in that year the government appropriated \$25,000 for it and announced that a weekly mail service would be carried on across it.<sup>77</sup> The construction of a lock at Fort Frances, which would have been a material improvement in the route, had been begun in 1875, apparently in the expectation that it would be a useful contribution to a joint rail and water route to Manitoba; but the Canadian Pacific's line was afterwards located so far north that this could not be realized, and work was belatedly stopped after some \$200,000 had been spent.<sup>78</sup>

In many respects, then, the Dawson route had been a sad failure; an American observer wrote of it, "I have yet to see the person who has dared its discomforts a second time." Yet he admitted that it had answered its main purpose, "in giving a line of independent communication between Manitoba and the Canadas."<sup>79</sup> Dawson himself, abandoning his early hopes for its development in some form into a permanent route, took the attitude, at the time when he severed his connection with the enterprise, that it had been regarded only as a preliminary line and in this capacity had been very useful.<sup>80</sup> And it could not be denied that at a great moment of crisis in the affairs of the Dominion it had been of fundamental importance. For several seasons it was the artery through which there passed into the West those elements of power which meant security for the new territories. Without it, the whole region might well have passed out of Canadian hands.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 1875, no. 7, pp. 55-7, 181-3.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 55-7.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, 1878, no. 7, pp. 58-9; 1876, no. 6, 59-61, 214 ff.

<sup>77</sup>*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, third session, third Parliament (Ottawa, 1876), 1047-50, April 4, 1876. See also the debate of March 6 (*ibid.*, 459-60).

<sup>78</sup>*Dominion Annual Register*, 1878, 167-72; *Canada and Its Provinces*, X, 530.

<sup>79</sup>Campbell and Twining, *Reports upon the Survey of the Boundary*, 54.

<sup>80</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1876, no. 6, pp. 214 ff., report of July 1, 1875.

## V

Quite apart from the physical difficulties which it presented, the Dawson route alone could never have been a completely satisfactory solution to the military and political problem of communication between eastern Canada and the West. For one thing, it was purely a summer route, available for at best seven months in the year. After the close of navigation on the Great Lakes, and the freezing of the waters on the central section of the route, there could be no communication between Toronto and Winnipeg except by way of the United States. Furthermore, even when the line was open, American permission was necessary to the passage of the Sault Canal; and there was the additional drawback that after the final delimitation of the international boundary at the Lake of the Woods, Canadian vessels plying on the Dawson route were "obliged to pass through nearly a mile of American waters" to reach their dock on Canadian soil at the north-west angle.<sup>81</sup> Less important, perhaps, in view of the decreasing likelihood of hostilities with the United States after 1871, was the route's coincidence with the border in the Rainy River region. But it was quite clear from the beginning that if Canada was to have a really "independent" route, one by which her power, in the event of another crisis, could be exerted and maintained in the West whatever the season or the state of Anglo-American relations, it could only be a railway, and not merely a railway between the head of Lake Superior and Winnipeg, but one connecting with the settled regions of Ontario.

John A. Macdonald, we may recall, was driven from power in 1873, as the result of a scandal connected with his railway policy, before that policy had produced any actual progress. His successor, Alexander Mackenzie, adopted the scheme of building a Pacific railway in sections, commencing with the links which could be utilized in conjunction with water communication. In 1875 contracts were made for construction of sections west from Fort William and east from Selkirk, Manitoba; subsequent contracts made by Mackenzie, and by Macdonald after his return to power in 1878, provided for the completion of rail communication between Fort William and Winnipeg. This was finally realized on June 19, 1882, when a certain Miss Fowler drove the last spike

<sup>81</sup>Campbell and Twining, *Reports upon the Survey of the Boundary*, 54, 304-5, map opposite 83. The original landing having been decided to be in American territory, some time between 1872 and 1875 the dock and terminus of the Fort Garry road were moved.

at Feast Lake.<sup>82</sup> The Dawson route was thus replaced, six years after its abandonment, by a line of steel which cut the time of transit to a few hours. In the meantime, a contract had been made in 1880 for the construction by a private company of the rest of the transcontinental enterprise, including a line along the north shore of Lake Superior.<sup>83</sup>

Fate decreed that the connection between the new railway and the Dominion's control of the North-west should be demonstrated in a curiously dramatic fashion. In the early spring of 1885, before navigation opened and while there were still gaps in the north shore line, rebellion broke out on the Saskatchewan. With the people of that region in panic, and a general Indian insurrection threatened, it was of the first importance to concentrate a respectable field force in the West at the earliest possible moment; and in spite of its unfinished state, the C.P.R. supplied the means. Edward Blake, it is true, censured the government for not asking United States permission to move the troops by the American railways;<sup>84</sup> the government did actually move some ammunition by those means, without, apparently, any diplomatic preliminaries;<sup>85</sup> but the eastern regiments, marching or riding in sleighs over the gaps in the line, arrived in the West by the Canadian route with a speed which was sufficiently gratifying. "A" and "B" batteries of the permanent artillery left their headquarters at Quebec and Kingston on March 28 and arrived at Winnipeg in two detachments on April 4 and 5,<sup>86</sup> the vanguard of a force of 3,300 officers and men from the eastern provinces. In one sense, the last detachment to move west was the most important, though it did none of the fighting. On May 20, the Winnipeg correspondent of the *New York Herald* telegraphed the news of its arrival: "The Montreal garrison artillery, a force of 300 men, arrived here this morning. . . . They came on the first through train from Montreal to Winnipeg round the north shore of Lake Superior

<sup>82</sup>*Dominion Annual Register*, 1882, 189, and cf. 41.

<sup>83</sup>H. A. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (London, 1923), chap. II (on contracts, p. 89, n. 1); O. D. Skelton, *The Railway Builders* (Toronto, 1916), 127 ff.; G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto, 1938), chap. VIII.

<sup>84</sup>*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, 1885, 872-3, April 1.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, 838-9, statement of Caron, March 31.

<sup>86</sup>*New York Herald*, March 29, April 5, April 6, 1885; Department of Militia and Defence, *Report on the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories* (Ottawa, 1886), table of movements on back of frontispiece map. Canadian historical legend, enshrined in many excellent books (e.g., Glazebrook, *History of Transportation in Canada*, 280; Skelton, *Railway Builders*, 165) cuts the time of transit in half. For a first-hand account of one regiment's journey, see George T. Denison, *Soldiering in Canada* (Toronto, 1901), chap. XXI.



on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which has just been completed and which event marks an important epoch in the history of the Dominion."<sup>87</sup> Before 1885 was out, the line was finished clear to the Pacific; and the military resources of eastern Canada were now fully available, in case of need, either for the maintenance of order on the prairies or the defence of the British Columbia coast.

The north-west crisis of 1885 was unnecessary and in many ways inglorious. The events of that year, nevertheless, furnished an eminently satisfactory finale to two distinct but closely related sequences of national effort: one beginning when the province of Canada sent its explorers to seek a route through the wilderness west of Lake Superior in 1857, the other when Wolseley's men struggled through the same wilderness in 1870 to lay the foundations of order and security in the new territories. The militiamen of 1885, riding westward over the C.P.R. to put down rebellion and protect the settler, were symbols of a new reality in the fifteen-year-old union of east and west: symbols, it might be added, of the first and greatest victory of Canadian nationality—a victory won in some measure over human opponents, but mainly over the silent and impersonal forces of nature, as represented in the tremendous barrier of the precambrian shield.

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<sup>87</sup>*New York Herald*, May 21, 1885.



## CUTHBERT GRANT OF GRANTOWN

**C**AST for a minor part on the early Red River stage, in 1816, Cuthbert Grant came unfortunately into the spotlight as the leader of the North West Company Métis in the massacre of Seven Oaks, an affair which precipitated an important train of events in the evolution of western Canada. Written history has never rescued Grant from the unfavourable notoriety which he gained in 1816, for the sum of general knowledge about him today is that he led the Métis at Seven Oaks, and vaguely, that later he was called Warden of the Plains. These were only two incidents in his life, yet a study of even these reveals that no true estimate of him has been made and that the horrors of the massacre have clung undeservingly about his name. He appears to have fared well at the hands of his contemporaries, for after Seven Oaks and later when he became a settler, he increasingly gained in public esteem and served with honour in responsible positions. Many Selkirk settlers gratefully remembered him as the man who undoubtedly saved their lives in the days that followed the massacre.

He also made a notable contribution to the permanent settlement of the country, in the protection from the Sioux which he and his Métis afforded the colony at Red River, after 1824. This should not be overlooked, and it is hoped that the material in this article may throw some light on his career, and thus lead to a truer estimate of the man.

Cuthbert Grant's father, also Cuthbert, first appeared in the fur trade as establishing an outpost for the North West Company at Great Slave Lake, in 1786. He was in charge of the Upper Red River District, residing at River Tremblante from 1793, became a partner about 1795, and died in 1799.<sup>1</sup> The first record of Cuthbert junior, a child living in the Indian country at the time of his father's death, is his baptismal registration in St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, two years later. Dated October 12, 1801, it places his birth in 1793. Young Cuthbert's mother was a Cree, and he undoubtedly was born at River Tremblante, which

<sup>1</sup>W. S. Wallace (ed.), *Documents relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, 1934), 449; L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), I, 275, 283-95 *passim*; C. M. Gates (ed.), *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* (Minneapolis, 1933), 94-114; R. Flenley (ed.), *Essays in Canadian History* (Toronto, 1939), 284. John Stuart and Cuthbert Cumming (North West Company), were cousins (Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, Toronto, 1915, 12), and doubtless numerous others, since Mr. W. S. Wallace, to whom I am deeply indebted for much valuable help and guidance over a long period in this search, finds that most of the Grants in the fur trade seem to have been more or less related.

is today Aspen Creek, sixteen miles from Kamsack, Saskatchewan.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the baptism took place as Cuthbert was being sent by William McGillivray and Roderick MacKenzie of the North West Company to his father's nearest kin in Scotland, the Stuarts, Lord Strathcona's people. Nothing further can be added to his early life except the statement of Mr. J. B. Coltman, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Canada in 1816 to investigate the Red River disturbances, that Grant was "protected and educated" by the North West Company. Unfortunately the date of his return from Scotland to begin his training with that Company cannot be definitely determined.<sup>3</sup>

His training in Montreal finished, he returned in 1812 to the West as a clerk in his father's company. He was nineteen, and reliable sources picture him as a young man of education and means, with polished manners and some personal charm. His father had been a prominent partner, he was related to others influential in the Company, but most important of all he was by character and personality a leader. This drew the attention of his superiors, for this quality, together with his education, connection, and mixed blood, soon gained him prestige and influence with the largest element of population in Red River, the Métis; influence such that later even Lord Selkirk and, in turn, Governor Simpson, were willing to overlook all that he had done against their interests, to gain him to their cause.<sup>4</sup>

He evidently was put in charge of a post during his first year, acting under John Pritchard at Qu'Appelle, and his activities against the colony at the "Forks" of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and against the Hudson's Bay Company, began. He was

<sup>2</sup>Presbytery of Montreal, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Baptismal Record, St. Gabriel St. Church, Montreal. The child was given only one name, but mistakenly there has been added to it the name of his brother James, baptized in the same church two years previously (record in same repository): *Papers relating to the Red River Settlement, 1819*, printed by order of the House of Commons, 145; Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 275, 284-5. My grateful thanks are due to Professor A. S. Morton, Saskatoon, for much assistance. He also visited Cuthbert Grant's birth-place for me and supplied its location. Born in 1793, Cuthbert Grant was therefore twenty-three years of age at the time of Seven Oaks, not just a lad emerging from his teens as has been stated. Heretofore his age has been taken from his burial record (St. François Xavier Church, Man.) which places his birth in 1796, the year his sister Mary was born. It is well known that he was her senior by some few years.

<sup>3</sup>This contact with the Stuarts is substantiated by surviving members of the family and corroborated through the contacts of Cuthbert's sister Mary (Mrs. Pierre Falcon) and Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona) in Manitoba during the years 1870-7. Cuthbert Grant Sr. and Lord Strathcona's mother had a grandfather in common, Robert Grant of Glenbeg, parish of Cromdale, Scotland; *Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 146.

<sup>4</sup>H.B.C. Archives, London, *Book of Servant's Characters*, 1832, in which G. Simpson places Grant's return west in 1812; *ibid.*, *North West Company Ledger, Red River Department, 1811-21*, confirms this.

a rabid Nor'Wester, but his depredations are too well known to recount. Nothing in his life has been recorded in greater detail. His *mariage du pays* to Elizabeth, daughter of John McKay, Master of the Hudson's Bay Company's Brandon House, took place in 1814, and in the winter of 1815-16 she and his widowed sister Mrs. John Wills were with him at the Qu'Appelle post. There he opposed Elizabeth's brother John Richard, in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company fort, nearby. It was a winter of skirmishes, during which the Nor'Westers recruited and fostered the "New Nation." And since the rule of Cuthbert Grant and his Métis is recorded as one of the forms of government which has existed on the prairies, the climax that spring may be noted. Grant was appointed "Captain General of all the Métis in the Country."<sup>5</sup>

The ensuing events of the expedition against the colony at the Forks are familiar, for they ended on June 19, 1816, in the massacre of Governor Semple and twenty men. There is no doubt that following their annual meeting in 1814, the Nor'Westers had been increasingly using Grant, with his sway over the Métis and his loyalty to kin and family friends—to William McGillivray who had had him baptized, to Henry McKenzie now charged with the North West Company's publicity campaign in the struggle, and to others—to accomplish their own ends. Historians have found it easy to condemn him, but all through the conflict one sees in his actions a gloriously whole-hearted and loyal co-operation with his associates. Convinced that no law could disprove the North West Company's and Métis' right to the country through generations of occupancy, he had led skirmishes, seized provisions and property, callously ordered the settlers' houses fired, and now, after Seven Oaks, he threatened that not a soul would be spared if there was any resistance. He promised, however, that with the surrender of public property all would be well, and he made good his word.<sup>6</sup>

Grant's humanity at this time has been testified to by such western historians as Gunn, Ross, and Begg, and the late Mr. C. N. Bell gathered from survivors of the events statements which

<sup>5</sup>*Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 166; *ibid.*, 81; E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North-West, its Development and Legislative Records* (Ottawa, 1914), I, 20; Public Archives of Canada, *Canadian Biographies*, Cuthbert James Grant, by F. J. Audet; A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, 1938), 437; Public Archives of Canada, *Selkirk Papers*, 1946, Narrative of Jas. Sutherland.

<sup>6</sup>W. S. Wallace, *Documents relating to the North West Company*, 447; *Correspondence in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819, between Earl Bathurst and J. Halkett, Esq., on the Subject of Lord Selkirk's Settlement at the Red River in North America* (London, n.d.), 141; *Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 88.

strongly confirm this. Grant informed the settlers that he had orders for all that he was doing "except in the mildness of his actions," and they believed him. They had long known both Grant and the members of his party who, though formerly their persecutors, were now protecting them. And they knew also what was revealed later, that it was the savages who were now threatening them, who had committed the barbarities of the massacre, men brought by the North West Company from the north, whom Grant had not been able to control once the unfortunate first shot was fired. Though Grant's party indeed had come to "sweep Red River of the English" and with no gentle measures, they were first to have joined the Fort William contingent, after which, Grant said, by blockading Fort Douglas, they would have starved the colonists into submission.<sup>7</sup>

While negotiating for the fort Grant protected his old *bourgeois*, John Pritchard the go-between, and at the settlers' request he slept at the fort with trusted men, to ensure the safety of the women. He allowed the colonists to take away all that they could of their possessions and gave Pritchard a signed paper for his safety. An inventory of goods in the fort having been taken (7,429 items, some in dozens or pairs) he receipted each page, gave a copy to Alex. Macdonell who was in charge of the party, and sent along an escort to guard them as they went down the Red River.<sup>8</sup>

He then remained at the fort until his *bourgeois* arrived, when he returned to the West. He was there when Lord Selkirk recaptured Fort Douglas early in 1817, and when His Lordship shortly afterwards made overtures to him through Miles Macdonell. Writing from Fort Douglas on January 24, 1817, voicing Lord Selkirk's recognition of Grant's humane treatment of the settlers and inviting him to come and talk matters over, Macdonell continued: "The Earl of Selkirk who has a perfect knowledge of all that took place here last year, harbours no enmity towards you, and I feel confident that he has no intention of commencing legal

<sup>7</sup>Alex. Begg, *History of the North-West* (Toronto, 1894), I, 183; Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), 153; Alex. Ross, *Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State . . .* (London, 1856), 36; C. N. Bell, *The Selkirk Settlers* (Winnipeg, 1887), 42-4; *Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 194; *ibid.*, 187; *ibid.*, 122; *ibid.*, 88; Chester Martin, *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), XIX, "The Red River Settlement," 36.

<sup>8</sup>*Report of Proceedings connected with Disputes between Earl of Selkirk and North-West Company, at the Assizes, York in Upper Canada, Oct. 1818* (Montreal, 1819), Brown and Boucher Trial, 165; *Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 89; *ibid.*, 195; *ibid.*, 89, 189; Gunn and Tuttle, *History of Manitoba*, 153. Dr. John Perry Pritchett, to whom I am deeply indebted for my material from St. Mary's Isle Archives, Scotland, recently saw there, one of these original inventories, found by Lord Selkirk at Fort William.

prosecution against you. . . ." But Grant evidently preferred to stand by his actions and his Company for he was still in the West when his cousin Richard Grant shortly brought to Red River the proclamation which preceded Commissioner Coltman.<sup>9</sup>

Contrary to Miles Macdonell's assurances, Coltman when he arrived in the summer brought a warrant against Grant. But in spite of this, he seems to have fallen under the charm of his personality for he remarked on the young man's "general appearance of frankness and generosity." In his much criticized policy of appeasement the Commissioner advised Grant to give himself up voluntarily and go to Montreal with him "that his conduct might be investigated," which he did; while bitter complaints were lodged by Lord Selkirk that this criminal with thirteen charges against him went "more as a travelling companion than a prisoner," dining at Mr. Coltman's table and sleeping in his tent "during the whole voyage."<sup>10</sup>

In February, 1818, in Montreal, a true bill was returned against Grant for his many aggressions, and the cases were removed to Quebec. He was in jail and, concerned for Elizabeth and their young son James, he made his will, "in the apartments of Gwyn Owen . . . the Gaoler," before leaving. There are two statements as to why Grant never came to trial in Quebec. Lord Selkirk complained that he was allowed out on bail and escaped to the interior where he was vowing vengeance. W. S. Simpson, employed by Lord Selkirk to record the proceedings at Reinhard's trial, said "that when the indictment was preferred against Grant in Quebec in March, 1818, the Grand Jury returned 'No Bill,' whereupon he was set at liberty."<sup>11</sup>

At any rate he returned home, and in 1820 was still waging the Nor'Westers' war as a member of the party that lay in wait for Governor Williams at Grand Rapids and later captured Colin Robertson. Then in 1821 the warring companies amalgamated, and in the appointments Grant was left out. This turn of events was a bitter disappointment. He saw those who had incited him to the deeds which now excluded him from the new Company, welcomed into the fold. The McGillivrays were given a place on

<sup>9</sup>*Disputes, Earl Selkirk and N.W. Co.*, Brown and Boucher Trial, 213-14; *Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 98.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 145; Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 151, pt. 3, 756, W. B. Coltman to Cuthbert Grant; *Selkirk Correspondence, 1817-18-19*, 29.

<sup>11</sup>*Papers relating to Red River Settlement*, 181; *Disputes, Earl Selkirk and N.W. Co.*, appendices III-XL; Will deposited in Old Court House, Montreal. Elizabeth had disappeared when he returned home; *Selkirk Correspondence, 1817-18-19*, 141-2; *Report at Large of the Trial of Charles de Reinhard* (Quebec, 1818), preface, xi.

the Board at London. He alone, in Red River, was set adrift; and his bitterness toward the McGillivrays grew, for in addition they owed him £14,000. He had never had an accounting of his father's estate from them.<sup>12</sup>

With Nicolas Garry's permission he spent the winter under John McDonald (*le borgne*) now in charge of the Upper Red River District, and in the spring he started for Montreal and England to demand a settlement from the McGillivrays. It was at this juncture that he met at Fort Hibernia, George Simpson, newly appointed Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, a man with a genius for handling men, and who—though inclined to be censorious—was to prove a friend and exert a great influence on Grant's future.<sup>13</sup>

Simpson, too, seemed to fall under the young man's charm describing him as "an active clean fellow, possessing strong natural parts and a great deal of cool determination," with "manners mild and pleasing than otherways." He went on to relate:

I . . . had occasion to see a good deal of him as he attended me to Brandon House being apprehensive that the Assiniboines knowing my quality might be inclined to avenge their imaginary wrongs on my person. In the course of our Journey, Grant opened his situation to me, but no fresh light could be thrown on the unfortunate affair of 19th June [1816]. He denied in the most solemn manner any previous intention of Collision, and assured me that the melancholy catastrophe was entirely the result of the imprudent attack made upon them by Mr. Semple's party, and once the Indian blood was raised, his utmost efforts could not arrest the Savage Revenge of his associates: whether this be true or not, I am unable to determine, but from his feeling to the McGillivrays I am satisfied he would come out with all he knew if he had anything of importance to say. . . . He admits, that he was made a tool of by A. McDonell and being a very young man at the time thought it his duty to execute or even anticipate the wishes of his Superior whether right or wrong, and from that mistaken notion of Duty or Loyalty was the person selected for all desperate undertakings. That he is a man of good disposition at bottom I have no doubt, but has been really misguided which he now seems to feel sensibly. . . . He is most anxious to be admitted again into the Service and I am satisfied that it would be highly gratifying to all the North West party in this country . . . as he is a general favorite and they feel that he has been badly used by those whose business it was to protect him. The young Man I believe has no inclination to be troublesome but with his means he could be very much so; in this Country he will pass the remainder of his days as he is attached to it. . . . the half-breeds and Indians . . . look up to him with great respect; indeed there is not a Man in the Country possesses half the influence over them. . . .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>E. E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820-21, and Report* (Toronto, 1938), 216; Public Archives of Canada, *Selkirk Transcripts*, 7587, G. Simpson to A. Colville.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 7587.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 7587.



Grant with a promise of the Governor's interest went on to Canada, while Simpson, true to his promise, recommended him for the service. Proceeding to England Grant failed to obtain his money, so he returned to Canada in the following spring—1823. On his way west in August he was met at Norway House by a letter from the Governor telling him to report for service at Fort Garry. This he did and shortly after became a clerk there. A second common law marriage had terminated before he went to England, so in the autumn of 1823 he was married in St. Boniface Cathedral to Marie, daughter of Angus McGillis.<sup>15</sup>

Simpson congratulated himself that Grant's admission (with that of two others) had given "great satisfaction" but his unerring judgment came only with the years, for Grant might better have been assigned to any post rather than that of the colony which he had twice wiped out. Furthermore, Simpson immediately brought him into greater prominence by swearing him in as a special constable in the current disturbances between colony and Company.<sup>16</sup>

Grant's appointment naturally inflamed some of his recent enemies among whom was Alex. Macdonell, Governor Semple's successor, now a member of the Council. Macdonell soon showed his hand, using several settlers who also had not forgotten that it was Grant who had taken their fort and sent them off homeless in the boats. They made a "premeditated and unprovoked attack" upon him while on duty, which matter Governors Simpson and Pelly brought before the Council. Grant was vindicated and his assailants fined, but Simpson saw that in spite of this it would be discreet for him to retire from the service.<sup>17</sup>

The Governor no doubt paved the way for it, and now made shrewd use of him. The London Committee was stressing the colony and agriculture in order to absorb those retired at the amalgamation, the most recent influx of which—Métis from the withdrawn Pembina post—was even now camped along the river banks at the Forks. These people must be settled and their idea of a New Nation quenched. Who could so well establish them as the "general favorite"? Who could so well win the Indians "of-

<sup>15</sup>H.B.C. Archives, D. 4/2, p. 111; *ibid.*, B. 239/k/1, fol. 33. A marriage of the country with Madelin Desmarais had terminated after the birth of their child, Maria, in 1820. This was his first legal marriage (*Canadian Biographies*, Cuthbert James Grant, by F. J. Audet); Angus McGillis' will (H.B.C. Archives) supplies evidence that Marie was his daughter, not the daughter of his brother Hugh (North West Company) as has been stated.

<sup>16</sup>Frederick Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire* (Cambridge, 1931), 203; Geo. Bryce and C. N. Bell, *Original Letters and Other Documents relating to the Selkirk Settlers* (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, transaction 33, Winnipeg, 1889).

<sup>17</sup>Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, 259-60.

fended at the coalition and now driving the buffalo away," as this man who had "more influence over them than anyone in the country"? As early as January 7, 1824, Simpson was reporting, "Grant . . . has some idea of turning Settler with his Father in law next Season," and he retired in the spring, although his resignation did not go through until the following July.<sup>18</sup>

Simpson had succeeded in getting Grant's money from the McGillivrays, and on May 31, 1824, he reported to Andrew Colville:

I have made it my business to secure Grant's attachment and good offices . . . and by management I have got him to retire from the Service, and turn settler. I have got an order on McGillivrays to transfer his money into the hands of the Company, in which he has made me his trustee and executor, and put his affairs principally under my management. He is regularly married to a half-breed daughter of McGillis (who is a settler with from £2,000 to £3,000) and related to, or connected with the principal freemen or half-breeds who look up to him as their chief and great man. As I formerly remarked he this spring became a settler and has got a grant of land on the White Horse Plain, about 12 miles above this place [Fort Garry] on the Assiniboine where he is joined by McGillis and about 80 or 100 families of half-breeds all steady married men. Grant is turned very serious (religious) and by management will become a useful man to the Colony and Company. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Thus began the second settlement in Rupertsland, bearing like the first the imprint of one man as its founder, and Cuthbert Grant was as great a man to his settlers as Lord Selkirk had been to his. He held his land as a *seignior*y in his own right, and it stretched for six miles along the Assiniboine River. Numbers from farther west had rallied to their old leader and joined the Pembina *évacuées*, so that altogether, the list sounds like a roll call of North West *bourgeois* and servants. In fact, the settlement seemed like the last stand of the Nor'Westers and New Nation, as it could well have been. And had it not been for Grant's leadership, it might have been a menace to that at the Forks, instead of the protection it proved to be. He was strong in his new allegiance. Governor Simpson soon spoke of him as a staunch Hudson's Bay Company man, and said that no alluring offers could win him away.<sup>20</sup>

Grant's contribution to permanent settlement, in protecting Red River from the Sioux with the aid of his organized settlers, is

<sup>18</sup>H.B.C. Archives, B. 239/c/1; Archives, St. Mary's Isle, Scotland, *Selkirk Papers*, G. Simpson to A. Colville, May 31, 1824; H.B.C. Archives, B. 239/k/1, fol. 51d. It is to be noted that Grant retired; he was not discharged as has been stated.

<sup>19</sup>Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 659; Archives St. Mary's Isle, *Selkirk Papers*, G. Simpson to A. Colville, May 31, 1824.

<sup>20</sup>Grant alone in Red River held such a tract of land. The term *seignior*y, though used by contemporaries, was figurative; H.B.C. Archives, *Book of Servant's Characters*, Simpson on Grant.



an almost forgotten debt which western Canada owes him. But while this is the outstanding contribution of his career, it has been discussed in detail by Red River historians and needs no amplification. No new organization was necessary. There was one waiting; that of the efficient buffalo hunt in which these men were well disciplined. So, settled on their farms, they were ready at Grant's call, for this new service.<sup>21</sup>

It is now possible to map out the settlement with each man on his six chains of land as Grant placed him. And it is interesting to find that this map would bear out the tradition that the bravest fighters were allotted the land close in so as to be summoned quickly. No doubt with the village of his clan on the Scottish river Spey in mind, Grant called his settlement, Grantown, but unfortunately the name did not capture Red River's imagination. While Grant lived the place was Grantown but after his death the parish name of St. François Xavier, which it bears today, began to be used also for the village.<sup>22</sup>

There was considerable interest in Grant's venture. John Siveright, writing to James Hargrave in 1825 (the three had been clerks together at Fort Garry), questioned: "How does Cuthbert Grant get on with his settlement at White Horse Plain? I fear he has a turbulent set and not easily satisfied to deal with. I sincerely wish him every success. . . ." The village was the outpost western settlement—the "jumping-off place" for those going west; while it brought civilization eighteen miles nearer those travelling east, as Governor Simpson's party found in that same year.<sup>23</sup>

"Mons. Picard the Priest," who was promised to the settlement at its inception, came a few years later, and Bishop Provencher has recorded building difficulties there. The settlers of necessity remained devoted to the chase and it is surprising how soon Grant was able to direct them into the new channels of building and farming. The census credits Grantown with 298 acres of cultivated land in 1832, and with 841 acres in 1838.<sup>24</sup>

Grant became immediately a man of affairs both at home in Grantown and abroad where he was concerned with other new

<sup>21</sup>Selkirk settler families have stated that the colony at the Forks never thrived, never knew security, until it had this protection; Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, 23; Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto, 1913), 170, 330.

<sup>22</sup>Land Titles Office, Winnipeg, *Red River Register B*; Public Archives of Canada, H.B.C. map of 1835; Provincial Library, Winnipeg, *Red River Census*.

<sup>23</sup>G. P. deT. Glazebrook (ed.), *The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843* (Toronto, 1938), 11; Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, 162.

<sup>24</sup>H.B.C. Archives, D. 4/8, pp. 14-16, G. Simpson to H.B. Co., London; *Letters of Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher* (St. Boniface Historical Society, Bull. III, St. Boniface, 1913), 125-97; *Red River Census*.

interests. His career as a Hudson's Bay Company servant had been short, but it must be said that the change was made vastly to his advantage. Furthering his interests, Governor Simpson wrote to J. G. McTavish in January, 1824: "Mr. Cuthbert Grant I consider to be a fit person to conduct this transport business [between Norway House and the Red River Settlement] and for that purpose he will be despatched with the Craft from hence [Fort Garry] at the opening of navigation." In addition, Grant was given the right under license from the Company to trade the rich Brandon House area, that region which with its Indians he knew so well. So he soon had his men not only freighting for the Company, but also bringing up from York Factory goods for the trading post he was to establish in the coming winter.<sup>25</sup>

An entry in the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Garry Journal on February 18, 1825, tells of his first winter's trading: "It appears that a general scarcity of Buffaloe has prevailed this season all over the Country; as we are informed by M<sup>r</sup>. Grant who arrived this day from Brandon House (where he went last Autumn to trade on his own account) that he was from mere necessity . . . obliged to kill his horses & dogs, on which he himself & his people subsisted as long as they lasted and were then forced to abandon the place."<sup>26</sup> In the spring of the flood, 1826, a state of famine with consequent unrest existed in Red River and another Journal entry reads: ". . . it is however, but justice to state that the half-breeds of the White Horse Plain, have not joined in this conspiracy, and this is owing, it is thought, to M<sup>r</sup>. Grant's not countenancing such proceedings. . . ."<sup>27</sup> That summer Governor Simpson made plans for Grant to take fifty men on a two year trapping expedition into the Snake country, but the London Governor and Committee disapproved and the scheme was abandoned.<sup>28</sup>

The Fort Garry Journal continued to record Grant's activities under the Company until 1829, during which years the Governor appears to have found him a valuable ally against American traders who were becoming bold and were threatening violence. Simpson wrote to the Company in London on July 25, 1827:

. . . we have authorized Cuthbert Grant and Louis Giboche who are provided with a full Outfit to Trade along the boundary line from the Turtle Mountain to Qu'ap-

<sup>25</sup>H.B.C. Archives, D. 4/3, fol. 33, G. Simpson to J. G. McTavish; D. A. Stewart, *Early Assiniboine Trading Posts, Souris Mouth Group, 1785-1832* (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction 5, Winnipeg, 1930), 23.

<sup>26</sup>H.B.C. Archives, B. 235/a/5, Fort Garry Journal.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, B. 235/a/6, Fort Garry Journal.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, D. 4/89, fol. 103, G. Simpson to H.B. Co., London.

pelle and as they have a number of Indian and half breed relations and are intimately acquainted and connected with all the different Tribes in that quarter and not directly in the service of the Honble Company they have it more in their power to harrass our opponents than we could with a formidable Establishment. On this subject I had a personal communication with Grant . . . who is prudent firm and efficient either among whites or Indians and will act up to the letter of any intructions he may receive. . . .<sup>29</sup>

In that year the Company began to enforce its trading rights, Governor Simpson supplying Governor Donald McKenzie with a notice to be served on any British subject carrying on illicit trade in furs. Toward a wider enforcement the Governor used Grant in the autumn in an enterprise to ascertain the American boundary line from the mouth of the Pembina River, west, questioning the London office as to what should be done with Americans found on Company territory, and saying that if the traders and their property were to be seized he had prepared Grant for that duty. But no steps were necessary that winter. The Fort Garry Journal of December 31, 1827, relates:

. . . we have lately had accounts from Brandon House quarter . . . that the American traders have not approached so near the frontier in that direction, as they had intended, owing to their being set fast by the ice in the Missouri on their way up last Autumn. The Stone Indians are rather troublesome to M<sup>r</sup> Grant's people where they are established in the Brandon District, which has rendered it necessary on the part of M<sup>r</sup> G. to proceed thither himself immediately —He passed the foregoing part of the winter on his farm at White Horse Plain, and purposes returning to it as soon as the Stone Indians are tranquillised.<sup>30</sup>

The following entries are the last on Grant's trading career:

1828. Mar. 15, . . . M<sup>r</sup> Grant it has [been] reported to us this morning, has succeeded in pacifying the Stone Indians about is [sic] trading post near Brandon House; and is making an excellent trade.—

May 5. M<sup>r</sup> Grant has arrived at his establishment at the White Horse Plain, from his trading station near Brandon House, with his returns in three bateaux, amounting to 50,000 Musquash (it is said) and other furs, besides a considerable quantity of provisions, robes & leather —M<sup>r</sup> G's trade in furs at the White Horse Plain, is also reported to be little inferior to that above stated, but most of the latter are disposed of in the settlement, to all such as have goods to give in exchange —. . .<sup>31</sup>

The next development in the Company's determination to enforce its rights was Grant's appointment by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupertsland, on July 2, 1828, as "Warden of the Plains of Red River," at a salary of £200 per annum, with

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, D. 4/90, fols. 30.30d, G. Simpson to H.B. Co., London.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, D. 4/14, fols. 10.10d, G. Simpson to D. McKenzie; D. 4/90, fols. 30.30d, G. Simpson to H.B. Co., London; B. 235/a/8, Fort Garry Journal.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, B. 235/a/8, Fort Garry Journal.

duties cited as "the prevention of illicit trade in furs within that district." A study of Grant's trading years suggests that his loyalty and services to the Company had made him the logical choice for the position, yet in spite of this and also of the fact that he always had traded under license, Governor Simpson wrote four years later that "the appointment prevents him from interfering with the Trade on his own account, which he would otherwise do in all probability." This seems to be not only inconsistent, but an unmerited pronouncement.<sup>32</sup>

The last Fort Garry Journal entry on Grant's freighting reads: "Nov. 4, 1829.—M: Grants men arrived from Norway House but were oblig'd to leave their Boat in the Lake nigh to the Entrance of the River."<sup>33</sup> His interests were now altogether in Red River. In September, 1829, he commenced his well-known enterprise of building at Sturgeon Creek the first water mill in the country. The dam, 240 feet from bank to bank, was finished before winter, by next autumn the mill was built, the stores for grain finished, and operations began. Unfortunately the first year's success was not maintained. Ross said, "The mill gave little satisfaction—the dam still less." Both repeatedly gave way until in less than three years all was abandoned, with a loss to Grant of £800.<sup>34</sup>

About this time, 1832, Governor Simpson described Grant as "a powerful fellow of great nerve and resolution but not getting unwieldy and inactive . . . a sensible clear headed man of good conduct." He was a man of means, and on the Company's purchase of the Selkirk rights in 1835, at the first meeting of the reorganized Council of Assiniboia on February 12, he was made Justice of the Peace for one of the four judicial districts formed, that of White Horse Plain, "with magistrates to attend a General Quarterly Court of Governor and Council to be held in the Governor's house." Grant then sat at Council meetings in 1835, 1837, and 1838, listed as "Justice of the Peace, 4th District."<sup>35</sup>

In 1837, on the judicial districts being reduced to three with two magistrates for each, Captain Cary, Manager of the Experimental Farm, was appointed to act with Grant, and in 1839 (Governor Simpson presiding) the Council appointed Grant a member. Also, he and Alex. Ross the historian were appointed sheriffs of Assiniboia, with instructions to "officiate . . . in turn . . . as officers

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, B. 239/k/1, fol. 132; *ibid.*, *Book of Servant's Characters*.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, B. 235/a/12.

<sup>34</sup>Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, 41; Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 146.

<sup>35</sup>H.B.C. Archives, *Book of Servant's Characters*; Martin, *Canada and its Provinces*, XIX, 53; Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, 271, 274, 278, 282.

of the [Supreme] Court" and with duties outlined as to the choosing of juries, etc. Peter Garrioch later described Grant, acting as officer of the court, as "a mute and neutral under chairman."<sup>36</sup>

While little is known of Grant as Warden of the Plains, there is evidence that in spite of what Governor Simpson said to the contrary the post was no sinecure. Professor Chester Martin enumerates his activities, while Garrioch depicts him carrying on his duties amidst mounting resentment against the Company:

1845

May 20. Tu.—Heard today that Mr. Grant with 12 men started early the last Sunday morning to seize Mr. Green's fur which was conveyed to the Pambina by 6 or 7 men.

May 21. W. —. . . Mr. Grant was seen at Ft. Garry today but I did not yet learn the issue of his trip.

May 23. F. —Understood that Mr. Grant had met with singular failure in his expedition; and almost got drowned at the Scratching River in the bargain for his trouble.

May 24. S. —Heard that Green had not sent off his fur as was supposed, so that Grant's parade was a mere wild-goose chase.

Nov. 25. Tu.—. . . on my [return] home I was favored with a communication from Mr. James Sinclair, warning me to be on my guard as Mr. Grant had received a warrant from the Governor authorizing him to seize all furs that were traded by private Individuals, and that were not intended to be delivered to the H.B. Company. Those who assisted Mr. Grant in this unlawful and infernal affair were to receive one half of the plunder as a compensation for their nefarious services.

Dec. 23. Tu.—. . . I was informed that Mr. Grant with two men had gone out to seize goods taken out by William Pritchard to the Manitoba quarter.

1846

Jan. 6. Tu. —. . . On my way home . . . I was informed that Mr. Grant had seized the goods and furs of several of the traders. Among the plundered were Quewezazse, Antoine Dejerlais brother Shigerma's son and one of Shatra's sons. Them are certainly strange and overbearing proceedings. . . .

Jan. 21. W. —. . . The Magistrates it appears, had wit enough to refuse having anything to do with the business. . . . Capt. Cary told Mr. Christie that had Shatra shot Mr. Grant on the spot, he would have been acquitted the next moment.

Jan. 27. Tu. —. . . Heyden was on the point of riding out when someone came and told him that Mr. Grant was on his way to rob him. . . . Fired at the Intelligence he . . . went in to prepare himself for the reception of Mr. Grant . . . took out his revolving pistol and commenced setting it in order. . . .<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 280, 285, 286, 290; *Journal of Peter Garrioch*, manuscript in possession of Mr. G. H. Gunn, St. Andrew's, Man., to whom I am much indebted for use of material.

<sup>37</sup>H.B.C. Archives, *Book of Servant's Characters*; Martin, *Canada and its Provinces*, XIX, 53; Garrioch, *Journal*.

On May 17, 1849, public feeling as glimpsed in the above reached its historic climax in the trial of Guilleaume Sayer for illicit trade in furs. Grant's brother-in-law, McGillis, was implicated with Sayer, his son-in-law, Pascal Breland, headed the committee on behalf of the accused, while he himself (as a councillor) sat on the bench with Judge Thom at the trial. And he must have seen in its outcome that his position with the Company was at an end—which proved to be the case. With those victorious shouts of "Vive la liberté!" ringing in their ears, the Northern Department made no appointment of Warden of the Plains when they met in June.<sup>38</sup>

Grant's public activities increased however. In 1850 he became president of a quarterly petty court which met in his big white house. He had long shared with Bishop Provencher and Dr. Bunn in the distribution of strychnine for the wolves that devastated Red River, he continued as sheriff, and in 1853 he was elected to the Board of Works. Meanwhile, his affairs and those of his settlement had progressed. He had fostered the church, and there was now also a convent, a boy's school, a blacksmith shop, a mill, and a trading store. In 1853 Grantown was a busy village of nine hundred people, and Grant's Métis were noted as the best cart makers in all Red River. Moreover, their fame as warriors had travelled far. In 1836-7, "General" Dickson in his remarkable filibuster, started out from Washington and New York and, recruiting his officers on the way, traversed the country to Red River on a gruelling trip in the dead of winter, to obtain as the soldiers of his "army," Cuthbert Grant's Métis. Although the Company evidently ended Dickson's dreams, he found no recruits, which is to Grant's credit, and the Métis remained Red River's hunters and guardians. They won their greatest victory in 1853, when out at the hunt eighty of them fought two thousand Sioux for two days in the noted battle of the Grand Coteau.<sup>39</sup>

In the mass of evidence concerning Grant's leadership and care of his people, one notable service for which he fitted himself stands out, he was their medical practitioner. Although it cannot be determined just where he obtained his medical knowledge nor its full extent, there is sufficient satisfactory evidence of it to state

<sup>38</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 372; Archer Martin (ed.), *Western Law Times*, II (Winnipeg, 1891), 12; H.B.C. Archives, Minutes of Meeting, Northern Department of Rupertsland, June 21-6, 1849.

<sup>39</sup>Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, 362, 378, 293, 393; Provencher, *Letters*, 178, 189, 221; *Parish Records*, St. François Xavier; Grace Lee Nute, "James Dickson, a Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Sept., 1923, 127-40), "Diary of Martin McLeod" (*Minnesota History*, Oct., 1924, 351-439); Donatien Frémont, *Mgr. Provencher et son temps* (Winnipeg, 1935), 258.

that, as far as can be learned, Cuthbert Grant was the first man born on the prairies to practise regular medicine there.<sup>40</sup>

In 1850 John Ballenden, in charge at Fort Garry, had reported on an "amicable agreement" by which Grant gave up his "absurd claims to Seigniorial rights" at Grantown, and in 1853 Grant, seeming to fear that by future changes in the Company this might suffer, proposed to Governor Simpson that instead of his "present income" the Company should set him up with £1,200, and allow him to trade again under their sanction. There is no indication that the matter was decided and there was also still unsettled between them some matter with regard to Grant's salary as Warden of the Plains, when in 1854 he wrote the Governor on his annual visit to Red River that owing to ill health he was unable to come to Fort Garry to see him. Sir George replied regretting Grant's impaired health and wishing him a speedy recovery, but in less than a month death had settled all claims, for Grant died on July 15, 1854.<sup>41</sup>

The church accorded him its greatest honour, he was buried beneath the chapel of the mission he had had his part in planting on his beloved prairies. But today there remains little of Cuthbert Grant of Grantown. The foundation logs of his big white house are still in the ground, and the logs of the church beneath which he was buried now form a building close by. There is some furniture, his medicine chests, and his sword. But the little village on the original six chain strip farms retains Grantown's pastoral character. And it basks by the river with its church spire to the sky, in the peace and safety which Grant first won for it, and for all Red River.

MARGARET ARNETT MACLEOD

Winnipeg.

<sup>40</sup>Margaret Complin, "Warden of the Plains" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, Aug., 1934, 74); Dr. J. Bunn was the first Red River graduate, but Grant's practice of medicine antedates Bunn's.

<sup>41</sup>H.B.C. Archives, D. 5/27, fols. 253-4, J. Ballenden to G. Simpson; D. 5/37, fol. 273, C. Grant to G. Simpson; D. 4/74, pp. 472/473, G. Simpson to C. Grant.



## FREIGHT RATES ON GRAIN IN WESTERN CANADA<sup>1</sup>

THE railway was the key which unlocked the economic resources of the Canadian West. The story of how the Canadian Pacific, the first important railway in the West, was built has frequently been told. It is important to note, however, that it was the customs tariff which was to provide the government with revenue to help finance the road.<sup>2</sup> "The difficulty of securing the means for the extension of the railway to the Pacific in the face of falling revenue . . . compelled the adoption of . . . [high] protection by the government which was returned to power in 1878. The equilibrium between revenue and expense was thus speedily restored and the means provided for the completion of a great inter-oceanic line of railway and other important public works."<sup>3</sup>

Even after the Canadian Pacific was completed, however, the expansion of the West was disappointingly slow. Among the reasons for this backwardness, high freight rates were prominent not only in the minds of the settlers themselves, as evidenced by frequent and bitter complaints in Parliament and press, but also in the opinions of impartial observers. For example, Professor Adam Shortt who had spent the summer of 1894 in the West declared that "in Alberta, at least, so high are the freight rates on the Canadian Pacific that the old system of freighting with horses and wagon has revived in direct competition with the railroad, and is reported to be a profitable enterprise."<sup>4</sup> In extenuation of the Canadian Pacific, it should be pointed out that freight rates on grain in Canada were slightly lower than the charges for corresponding distances on American lines. Also in its early years the company was in no financial position to stand the possible reduction in revenue which might be occasioned by the lower charges. Nevertheless freight rates were higher than the traffic could bear and undoubtedly tended to retard development.

The first real reduction in rates came in 1897 with the famous

<sup>1</sup>The research involved in this article was undertaken by the writer while holding a fellowship awarded by the Royal Society of Canada.

<sup>2</sup>The early inter-relationship of railway and tariff policy is more fully dealt with in H. A. Innis, *Problems of Staple Production in Canada* (Toronto, 1933), 1-17.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Charles Tupper, "The Economic Development of Canada" (*Scottish Geographical Journal*, XI, 1893, 7). Instead of the words "high protection," presumably out of deference to his hearers Tupper who was at this time High Commissioner in London used the words "incidental protection," a term now commonly applied to the Galt tariff of 1859.

<sup>4</sup>Adam Shortt, "Some Observations on the Great North-West" (*Queen's Quarterly*, Jan., 1895, 195).

Crowsnest Pass Agreement.<sup>5</sup> Under the terms of this agreement the Dominion government granted the Canadian Pacific a cash bonus amounting eventually to slightly over \$3,400,000 for the construction of a railway from Lethbridge through the Crowsnest Pass to Nelson, B.C. In return the company undertook by September 1, 1899, to reduce by three cents per hundred pounds the then existing rates on grain and flour from all points in the West to Fort William, Port Arthur, and points east thereof. From Brandon which was roughly the centre of wheat production at the time, this reduction amounted to about 19 per cent. In addition the railway cut by 15 per cent the rates then applicable to fruits, coal oil, cordage, implements, various building materials, and furniture from eastern Canada west-bound. Finally the company conveyed certain coal-bearing lands in southern British Columbia to the Dominion. In brief, in return for a cash subsidy, the Canadian Pacific reduced the freight rates on the chief export of the region and on settlers' requirements inbound. The concessions were made without limit of time.

There were several reasons why the Canadian Pacific, previously so obdurate to the insistent clamour of the West for lower rates, entered into this agreement. The subsidy enabled the construction at once of a line of railway which the Canadian Pacific had planned for some time.<sup>6</sup> The branch would open up the mineral regions of southern British Columbia<sup>7</sup> and would prevent the area from becoming economically tributary to the American lines which were entering from the south. Moreover, development of the district would provide a welcome nearby market for farmers in the far West. The financial position of the Canadian Pacific appeared to be definitely improving with a mining boom in the Lake of the Woods area and the salmon-canning and cedar-shingle industries of British Columbia providing new sources of revenue. The railway was now firmly in the control of Van Horne, the optimistic American engineer rather than of Mountstephen, the conservative Scottish banker. Existing settlements in the West were becoming more prosperous. "Wheat, which within a year touched the lowest recorded price in 250 years, is again comforting the farmer with the old charm of a dollar a

<sup>5</sup>60-61 Vict., c. 5. The agreement is dealt with in T. H. Harris, *The Economic Aspects of the Crowsnest Pass Rates Agreement* (Toronto, 1930).

<sup>6</sup>Canadian Pacific, *Annual Report*, 1889, also 1893.

<sup>7</sup>The development of this area is described in H. A. Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier* (Toronto, 1936), chap. v.

bushel."<sup>8</sup> Additional settlements on a considerable scale might be induced by the low rates; traffic would consequently be increased and the value of the company's extensive lands enhanced.<sup>9</sup> Finally unless the Canadian Pacific was prepared to reduce rates, the Province of Manitoba proposed to aid the construction of a railway line running directly from Winnipeg to Duluth. Such an air-line without any branches in the agricultural area might lack effective power to force the Canadian Pacific to lower rates on its network of lines into the farming region.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the proposal, coming as it did when the possibility of an agreement between the government and the Canadian Pacific was being considered, undoubtedly had an effect on the policy of the Canadian Pacific. Thus the lure of a cash bonus, the apparent approach of general and railway prosperity, the possibility of a more rapid development of the West and the threat of a competing line of railway induced the Canadian Pacific to accept the Crowsnest Pass Agreement.

On the part of the government there were equally sound reasons for the agreement. An important mining area would be opened up by a Canadian line. The newly-elected government was probably not entirely unwilling to be reasonably friendly with the financial interests controlling the Canadian Pacific. More particularly, the proprietors of the *Toronto Globe* who were very influential with the government stood to benefit materially from the development of southern British Columbia. The *Manitoba Free Press* openly accused<sup>11</sup> Mr. Robert Jaffray and Senator G. A. Cox of the *Globe* of being "at the head of a syndicate that have taken over the charter of the British Columbia Southern Railway which controls several million acres of land including the coal deposits of the Crow's Nest Pass and are now negotiating with the government for the construction of the road." The *Globe* did not deny the fact, contenting itself with defending the proposed agreement on the grounds of public policy.<sup>12</sup> In any event the agreement was made.

On the whole, so far as one can judge from newspaper reports of the time, the Crowsnest Pass Agreement was favourably received except in Manitoba and to some extent in British Co-

<sup>8</sup>The Canadian Bank of Commerce, *Annual Report*, 1896.

<sup>9</sup>In evidence before the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1923, Mr. W. B. Lanigan, Freight Traffic Manager who had been with the Canadian Pacific since 1884, gave the increase in the value of the estate as the main reason for the agreement (transcript of evidence, docket 14393, 1627-50).

<sup>10</sup>*Toronto Globe*, May, 1897, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup>Reprinted in full in *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1897.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, also Feb. 2, 1897.

lumbia. In the latter province objection was raised to the alienation of natural resources to railway companies and an attempt<sup>13</sup> was made to set aside on legal grounds certain land grants made to companies absorbed by the Canadian Pacific. In Manitoba vigorous opposition arose from three groups: farmers who wanted still lower grain rates, merchants who pointed out that the reduction in rates on settlers' supplies inbound tended to favour Montreal and Toronto as distributing centres rather than Winnipeg, and the general public which was still resentful of the virtual railway monopoly of the Canadian Pacific, particularly since it had just received a further bonus from the government.<sup>14</sup> This opposition crystallized into a very determined demand by Manitoba for a competing railway line to the head of the lakes. This demand was satisfied, in 1901, by the Canadian Northern—the child not merely of Mackenzie and Mann but of a growing financial clique in Toronto centring round the Canadian Bank of Commerce in opposition to the well-established Canadian Pacific-Bank of Montreal group in Montreal. The Canadian Northern was formed initially by leasing from the Province of Manitoba the facilities (355 miles) in Canada of the bankrupt Northern Pacific.<sup>15</sup> After consolidating these lines with its original nucleus, the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company, from Dauphin to Portage la Prairie the new company built its own road through Canada to lake-head. The construction of this latter line was aided by a guarantee by the Manitoba government of the interest on bonds at the rate of \$20,000 per mile for 290 miles. In return the railway agreed to reduce the existing rate on grain from Manitoba to Lake Superior by more than four cents a hundredweight and the rates on all other freight in both directions by more than 15 per cent of the rates then in force.<sup>16</sup> The object of this so-called Manitoba agreement was that of “securing to the people of Manitoba a reduction of freight rates surrounded and cemented by indisputable security.”<sup>17</sup>

For a time the Canadian Pacific refused to reduce its rates to the level of those on the Canadian Northern because the latter had neither the network of lines nor the equipment nor the elevators to move a considerable volume of grain and thus its

<sup>13</sup>*Sessional Papers of British Columbia*, 1900, 439-62.

<sup>14</sup>Reprints from Winnipeg newspapers in *Toronto Globe*, June and July, 1897, *passim*. The general agitation for another line of railway was, of course, a matter of long standing.

<sup>15</sup>*Statutes of Manitoba*, 1 Edw. VII, c. 38, 1901.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, c. 39, 1901.

<sup>17</sup>*Railway Commissioner of Manitoba, Report for the Year 1901*.

competition was ineffective.<sup>18</sup> However, because complaints of discrimination arose from farmers not on Canadian Northern lines, the Manitoba government negotiated an agreement with the Canadian Pacific whereby the latter reduced its rates on grain effective October 7, 1903, from fourteen to ten cents per hundred-weight for the haul from Winnipeg to lake-head on condition that the Canadian Northern reduction would be limited to this amount.<sup>19</sup> Possibly in this way the Canadian Pacific hoped to bankrupt its infant rival.<sup>20</sup> Although the Manitoba agreement applied only to that province, the Canadian Pacific soon voluntarily made equivalent reductions in the area beyond Manitoba. Thus low freight rates on grain from the entire western plains to the head of the lakes were at last secured.

During the first decade of the twentieth century western Canada enjoyed unexampled prosperity. Good crops, rising prices, the inflow of capital and settlers, the mechanization of agriculture and many other factors contributed to this development. It is significant, too, that the cost of transference of grain from the West to Liverpool was reduced at almost every stage—on the initial rail-haul by the Crowsnest Pass and Manitoba agreements, at the local and terminal elevators (through improvements in grain-handling equipment and elevator design), on the lakes, and also on the high seas.<sup>21</sup> These lower costs gave the farmer a relatively higher net return than previously. In the same period of time the railway network was steadily extended.<sup>22</sup> In one or two crop years there were complaints that railway equipment was insufficient to handle the grain traffic expeditiously but on the whole the service, as well as the freight rates, was considered satisfactory.

By 1911, however, there were some indications that the rate of expansion was slowing down. Moreover, all through the preceding period there had been complaints by westerners of the burden of the tariff.<sup>23</sup> Largely in response to this feeling Sir Wilfrid Laurier negotiated a reciprocity agreement with the United States. The terms of that agreement, its acceptance by

<sup>18</sup> Transcript of evidence, docket 14393.

<sup>19</sup> Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, Oct. 6, 1903, filed as Beidleman's exhibit number 8 in I. & S. docket 2469, Interstate Commerce Commission.

<sup>20</sup> 17 *Canadian Railway Cases*, 123, 215.

<sup>21</sup> For details, see W. A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting* (Toronto, 1934), appendix A, table v.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. III.

<sup>23</sup> Aubrey Wood, *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada* (Toronto, 1924), 228-51.

the American Senate, and the reasons for its rejection in Canada are too well known to require elaboration but it is essential to emphasize again the connection between tariff and railway policy. Executives of American railways, like James J. Hill, favoured reciprocity. On the other hand, Canadian railway officials were generally opposed for the reason that Canada had at great cost created transcontinental railways to carry traffic east and west, whereas the effect of reciprocity would be to direct trade north and south with American carriers getting a long haul and Canadian lines becoming the stub-ends of American systems. Van Horne declared "I am out to do all I can to bust the ———— thing." Sir William Mackenzie also objected but in less picturesque language. Hays of the Grand Trunk was rather non-committal, undoubtedly because his company was still dependent on government aid for the completion of its Pacific extension. But the financial interests behind the Canadian Northern vigorously resisted the scheme. Indeed one of the most influential personal factors in the campaign was the protest signed by eighteen prominent Toronto Liberals almost all of whom were identified with the financial power which had firmly established itself in Toronto since 1900. Mr. Z. A. Lash, one of the five directors of the Canadian Northern and Sir Edmund Walker, President of the Bank of Commerce, were particularly active in the campaign.<sup>24</sup> They secured so much publicity for their objections that the *Manitoba Free Press* declared that opposition to reciprocity was not spontaneous but "planned, nursed, financed, stage-managed and advertised" by Toronto business interests.

The significance of the 1911 election on the subsequent freight rate development in Canada has been considerable. The West is fundamentally interested in two objectives: selling its grain abroad at the highest possible price and buying personal necessities, farm equipment, and supplies at the lowest price. To achieve the first, it needs low freight rates; to obtain the second, it desires a low tariff. The defeat of reciprocity cut off the West from its natural market in the United States and by putting the traditionally high tariff party in power prevented any hope of abandonment of a high protective system. Accordingly the West was thrown back on its first objective, that of obtaining lower freight rates. Canadian railways opposed reciprocity as being inimical to their own interests: now they were to be faced with the insistent demand for low rates from the western grain-grower so that he might more

<sup>24</sup>*Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, *passim*.

easily reach the distant European market. It is not suggested that the farmer determined the connection between freight rates and tariffs in any logical way. He turned for help in the direction which at the moment seemed to promise the greatest relief from his economic problems. For him the matter was one of expediency but the underlying factors were definite.

The country had scarcely settled down after the excitement of the reciprocity campaign when it was caught up in the throes of the Great War. During the conflict the West enjoyed a fictitious prosperity with acreage expanding and prices rising. At the same time railway operating costs were increasing. Hence in 1917 the Board of Railway Commissioners allowed a 15 per cent increase in rates. In applying this increase to the West the Board was hampered by legal considerations for under the Railway Act (section 325), the Board did not have power to over-ride a "Special Act." The Board decided that the Crowsnest Pass Agreement was a "Special Act" but that the Manitoba agreement being an enactment of a provincial legislature was not. Accordingly rates in the West were increased only up to the level of the Crowsnest Pass Agreement.<sup>25</sup> In 1918 there was an increase of about 25 per cent in railway wages, and to cover the higher costs, rates and fares were again increased. The government, by an executive order under the provisions of the War Measures Act, exempted the Board from its legal restrictions. Thus for the first time since 1899 grain rates were set above the level of the Crowsnest Pass Agreement. In 1920 freight rates were still further increased. In the meantime the Railway Act of 1907 was being revised and consolidated. Without going into the details of the proposals regarding the relationship of the Board and "Special Acts,"<sup>26</sup> it is sufficient to say that the agreement was further suspended for three years from July 6, 1919.<sup>27</sup> Incidentally it is perhaps not too much to say that the agreement, with all that it means to the West, was ultimately kept in substantial effect by the insistence of but one man, Senator Watson of Portage la Prairie, acting at the instance of the Manitoba government.<sup>28</sup>

While these events were occurring in Parliament, the rise of a farmers' party was a significant development in the political life

<sup>25</sup>Board of Railway Commissioners, *Annual Report*, 1919, 68.

<sup>26</sup>*Canada, Debates of the Senate*, 1918, 194-5, also 1919, 668-9.

<sup>27</sup>*Statutes of Canada*, 9-10 Geo. V, c. 68, 1919.

<sup>28</sup>*Canada, Debates of the Senate*, 1918. See also J. W. Dafoe, *Sir Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931), 499 fn. Sifton himself was apparently influential only in the later phases of the controversy.



of the country. In the Parliament elected in 1921 this group held the balance of power. The new Liberal government traditionally stood for lower tariffs but its practical policy was strongly influenced by post-war economic nationalism in the rest of the world and by the fact that Liberals from Quebec and most of those from Ontario were opposed to drastic reductions in tariff schedules. Thus the West was again frustrated in its efforts to cut tariffs. In 1922, in view of the approaching expiration of the suspension of the Crowsnest Pass Agreement, the government, instead of doing the logical thing of referring the matter to the Board of Railway Commissioners, appointed a "Special Committee of the House on Railway Transportation Costs." The personnel of the Committee was impressive but the practice of referring such complicated technical matters as freight rates to an unskilled political body cannot be too strongly condemned. The only reason it was done in this case was that the West had completely lost faith in the Railway Commission largely because of the injudicious public addresses of Chief Commissioner F. B. Carvell who had told the West their rates were already low enough, had defended the Canadian Pacific, criticized the projected Hudson Bay Railway on which the West had set its heart, and finally had attacked railway labour. In the hearings<sup>29</sup> before the Committee the railways argued that they had already voluntarily made several reductions in rates on farm products, that rates in general had been reduced by the Board's order of December 1, 1920, and in particular they emphasized that the complete restoration of the Crowsnest Pass Agreement would seriously deplete their revenues at a time when railway operating costs were still high. Although the agreement applied to only a limited number of commodities and would be effective, so the railways claimed, only to Canadian Pacific lines as they existed in 1897, the effect of the restoration would be to reduce virtually all rates because the Railway Board was legally obligated to prevent unjust discrimination between commodities and localities and thus would have to reduce many other rates in all parts of the country. On the other side of the case, the agricultural interests contended that the agreement was a legally binding contract, that, although the Canadian Pacific had taken the subsidy, the West had never received any protection under the contract because as soon as the maxima came to be charged the Canadian Pacific complained and had been relieved of its obligations. Moreover, they argued that restoration of the

<sup>29</sup>*Proceedings of the Special Committee on Railway Transportation Costs, 1922.*

1899 rates was essential if the West were to get necessary relief from the depressed agricultural conditions. On this point it may be observed that, while depression in an industry is one element to be taken into account in the determination of rates, it cannot be considered the only factor, otherwise by the same logic railways could appropriate for themselves all the profits of a prosperous industry. In any case the problem was decided from the standpoint of politics rather than of economics. At first the Special Committee decided to recommend to the House that the agreement be suspended indefinitely, but several western Liberal members who were not on the Committee threatened to vote against their party in the House if the agreement were not restored. By combining with Progressives and Conservatives the dissentient Liberals would be able to turn the government out of office. The Committee thereupon reconvened and on the pretext that Canadian National officials had found that the Agreement, if applied only to grain and flour, would cause less loss in revenue than they had originally stated in evidence, revised its findings. Over the protests of Conservatives who contended that the matter should have been referred to the Railway Board, the House accepted the Committee's recommendation that the agreement be suspended for a further period of two years but that the rates on grain and flour be restored at once to the Crowsnest level.<sup>30</sup> The whole scheme, with its obvious compromises with respect to time and commodities affected, was a device to secure the support of the Progressives on the budget which was then before the House. In view of the situation within the Liberal party this budget contained but few reductions in tariff rates. For a time it appeared that it might be defeated but eventually it was carried with the support of nine Progressives mainly from Ontario. The problem of getting the budget through the House was so important to the party in power that it was compelled to give concessions on grain rates in order to retain the tacit support of at least some of the Progressives. This is not to suggest that there were not economic arguments in favour of the substantial restoration of the agreement. The relief to agriculture and the fact that the benefits from lower grain rates would be shared by all Canada including the railways through a revival of business, could be urged as reasons for the agreement's restoration. But these economic arguments could easily be honoured beyond their deserts. The fact is that the agreement gave the West a legal claim for lower

<sup>30</sup>*Statutes of Canada*, 12-13 Geo. V, c. 41, 1922.

rates than it could have secured on clear economic principles and the political circumstances of the moment favoured the attainment of the West's desires.

At about this time a new factor entered the situation. The original Crowsnest Pass Agreement had applied only to traffic through the head of the lakes, but with the opening of the Panama Canal, Vancouver had become an important exporting centre and was anxious to extend its tributary area farther backward into the plains. Hence Premier John Oliver appeared before the Special Committee to argue for the same basis of rates in British Columbia as on the prairies. This involved placing rates on westbound grain at the same level as those on eastbound grain, i.e. the Crowsnest scale. The request meant also the abolition of the Mountain Differential, a scheme of rate-making whereby the standard rate per mile in British Columbia was one and one-half times the rate per mile on the prairies. This differential had always been justified by the Board on the ground of higher costs of construction, operation, and maintenance of railways in the mountains. Mr. Oliver contended, however, that the differential was a violation of the spirit of Confederation inasmuch as the Carnarvon terms embodying the construction of the Pacific railway had implied the same basis of rates in British Columbia as in the rest of the country. Mr. Oliver pointed out further that if, for argument's sake, one were to admit the validity of higher rates over the Canadian Pacific line between Vancouver and the prairies than on the prairies themselves, there was no justification for higher charges over the Canadian National which, as part of the Canadian Northern, had been built with the specific object of avoiding the adverse grades on the older line. Furthermore the new road had been constructed with the aid of a bond guarantee from British Columbia with the proviso that the province would control the freight rates charged. As soon as the line was completed, however, the Dominion had taken over legal jurisdiction of the road<sup>31</sup> and provincial control was thus nullified. The Dominion, therefore, should give the relief which by its action it had prevented the province from taking for itself. As his final argument Mr. Oliver contended that British Columbia should not be made to pay indefinitely for the mistake in judgment on the part of the Canadian Pacific when it failed to take advantage of the opportunity of following the favourable route later taken by

<sup>31</sup>By declaring it to be a "work for the public advantage of Canada."

the Canadian Northern.<sup>32</sup> In spite of Premier Oliver's contentions the Special Committee of 1922 did not specifically consider British Columbia's claims for rate equalization. Indeed the Committee's recommendation that Crowsnest rates on grain and flour eastbound be restored put British Columbia under a greater handicap than before. The province appealed for redress to the federal Cabinet which in turn referred the matter to the Board of Railway Commissioners. This body, acting on rather technical grounds, reduced the westbound rates on grain products by 10 per cent and the Mountain Differential from one and a half to one and a quarter as compared with the rate on the prairies.<sup>33</sup> The demands of the coast province were not completely satisfied but for the time being no further action was taken.

It will be recalled that the two-year exemption of the limitation of the Crowsnest Pass Agreement on the powers of the Board was due to expire on July 6, 1924. Early in that year the railways petitioned the Cabinet for the further suspension of the Act and a reference of the entire matter to the Board of Railway Commissioners. Meanwhile the general political situation, always a significant factor where freight rates on grain are concerned, had become clarified. The Liberals had arrived at a more complete understanding with the Progressives. Moreover the retirement of Sir Lomer Gouin, the leader of the protectionist Liberals, and the election of an official government candidate in a Montreal constituency whose Liberal member had resigned in protest against the tariff reductions of 1924, left the lower tariff Liberals more fully in control of their own party. Nevertheless the wishes of the Progressives on the freight rate question could not be ignored. Hence the Liberals took no action and so on July 7, 1924, the Crowsnest Pass Agreement was restored in its entirety, i.e., not only on grain and flour eastbound but westbound on the settlers' needs originally stipulated. In anticipation of the possible re-application of the agreement, the Canadian Pacific had filed with the Board tariffs based on the Crowsnest scale. These new rates, however, applied only to Canadian Pacific lines as they existed in 1897. The Canadian National filed similar rates at competitive points, both roads retaining existing schedules from points not on Canadian Pacific 1897 lines. The result was chaos in the rate

<sup>32</sup>Regarding the reasons for the sudden change of route by the Canadian Pacific see F. G. Roe, "An Unsolved Problem of Canadian History" (*Report of Canadian Historical Association for 1936*, 65-77), with a comment by H. A. Innis in *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1937, 87.

<sup>33</sup>Board of Railway Commissioners, *Annual Report*, 1923, 93 ff.

structure. For example, agricultural implements from Hamilton to Saskatoon bore a Crowsnest rate of 115½ cents per hundredweight whereas a competitor in Brantford had to pay the normal rate of 139½ cents per hundredweight for substantially the same distance. Naturally complaints of discrimination poured into the government from all parts of the country. These complaints were turned over to the Board. After hearing extensive evidence the Board, reversing its decision in 1917, decided on October 14, 1924, that the Crowsnest Pass Agreement was not a "Special Act" within the meaning of the Railway Act. Therefore the Board was not bound by the agreement and hence it ordered the rates in existence prior to July 7, 1924, restored.<sup>34</sup> This meant that the agreement would apply to grain and flour eastbound but not to the westbound movement of the other commodities mentioned. The decision of the Board raised a storm of protest in the West. The governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta appealed first to the Cabinet (which in December set aside the October 14 decision of the Board) and secondly to the Supreme Court of Canada on a question of law. The court held that the Board was bound by the agreement and, further, that the Crowsnest rates applied only between points which are on the lines of the Canadian Pacific as they existed at the date (1897) of making the agreement. Parliament having by statute assumed the obligations under the agreement must change or amend them by statute.<sup>35</sup> The court's opinion threw the whole question back into the political arena. By this time the political power of the western Progressives was so well recognized and the insistence, if not the justice, of their cause so appreciated in all parts of Canada that without much discussion Parliament approved legislation<sup>36</sup> suspending in perpetuity the Crowsnest Pass Agreement except that the Crowsnest rates on grain and flour were to be continued and applied on traffic from every point in the West eastbound to the head of the lakes. Thus in spite of the great increase in the cost of railway labour, equipment, and supplies, and in spite of the increase in freight rates on other commodities, the rates on grain eastbound to Fort William and Port Arthur were placed permanently on precisely the same level as in 1899.

While these developments were taking place in connection with grain from the West, another section of the Dominion was com-

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 1925, 10.

<sup>35</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1925, no. 100.

<sup>36</sup>*Statutes of Canada*, 15-16 Geo. V, c. 52.

plaining of the unfair incidence of the tariff and of high freight rates. The Maritime Provinces were putting forth claims for concessions not unlike the claims of the West and were basing their claims on somewhat similar economic, political, and legal grounds, though they lacked the powerful weapon of a thirty-year old contract with a prosperous privately owned railway. In addition British Columbia was again bringing up its claim for equalization of rates and various interests were protesting against the continued movement of Canadian goods through the United States rather than along Canadian railways and through Canadian ports. To meet these and other minor complaints, the Dominion Cabinet in June, 1924, directed the Board of Railway Commissioners to make a general investigation of the entire freight rate structure of the country. The Board immediately began to take up this task.

In November, 1924, a newly appointed Chief Commissioner and another member of the Board held a session in Vancouver to discuss matters of a routine nature. By leave of the Board, however, at the last moment there was added to the agenda a petition from the Province of British Columbia that there be applied to the movement of grain westbound through Vancouver the Crowsnest Pass basis of rates which were applicable to traffic eastbound through Fort William. After receiving a certain amount of evidence the two Commissioners reserved judgment. Nearly a year later, in August, 1925, Vancouver shipping interests protested against the delay in handing down an opinion on the case. On learning of these developments the other Railway Commissioners urged that the Vancouver case be made a part of the general investigation and on the morning of September 2 the Board by a vote of 3 to 2 adopted a resolution to this effect. In spite of this resolution, on the afternoon of September 2, the Commissioners who had heard the Vancouver case issued order 36769 applying the Crowsnest rates to grain westbound for export. In his opinion the Chief Commissioner admitted that the complaint was connected with the general subject of the freight rate investigation but argued that the situation regarding this case had been fully developed and judgment should not be delayed beyond the opening of a new crop year. Against this whole procedure two of the remaining Commissioners vigorously protested, pointing out that order 36769 had been issued without according them "the most usual and ordinary courtesy of perusing and preparing opinions thereon," that the case was essentially part of the general



investigation, was contrary to the Board's resolution of September 2, and finally that the attempt of two members of the Board in the face of the Board's resolution to do what Parliament as recently as the previous June had declined to do (i.e., extend Crowsnest rates on grain westbound when they were applied by statute eastbound) "is incredible and grotesque."<sup>37</sup> But the damage had been done: this unusual if not unethical procedure had completely destroyed the country's confidence in the Board.

It is unnecessary to review in detail the subsequent history of this case: the application by cities adversely affected by order 36769 such as Quebec, Montreal, Port Arthur, Fort William, Winnipeg, and Regina to rescind the order pending hearing of a formal appeal; the refusal of the Board to suspend the order; the long delay in rendering judgment on the formal appeal due to the complete inexperience in railway matters of a new appointee to the Board; the confirmation of the order until a full inquiry could be made under the general investigation; the contention that the Canadian Pacific was not conforming to the order because it was basing its rates to Vancouver from Calgary and points east not on its own direct mileage but on the longer Canadian National mileage from Edmonton to Vancouver; the threat of suit by British Columbia against the Canadian Pacific for its alleged failure to obey the order; and at last the final decision<sup>38</sup> on August 26, 1927, confirming order 36769 and permitting the Canadian Pacific to compute its rates from Calgary to Vancouver by the longer Canadian National mileage rather than its own short but steeply graded line. Other parts of the same final decision set grain rates on branch lines in the West on the main line basis, that is, a town on a branch line had exactly the same rate as a shipping point on the main line equidistant from Fort William or Vancouver whereas before in some instances branch line rates were slightly higher than main line. Furthermore, rates on export grain moving along the former National Transcontinental which had been constructed with the specific object of having grain go through Canadian ports rather than by Buffalo and New York, were put on the same rate per mile as the Crowsnest Pass scale. Actually this rate is of no importance because it is still cheaper to ship by water. A later appeal by Halifax to have the Crowsnest basis extended to that port was denied both by the Board and by the Cabinet.

<sup>37</sup>30 *Canadian Railway Cases*, 393.

<sup>38</sup>Board of Railway Commissioners, *Departmental Reports*, 1926-7, IV, 521 ff.



The result of this long series of enactments by Parliament and rulings by the Board of Railway Commissioners is that freight rates on grain for export from the West are held down to the level existing in September, 1899. This principle applies whether the grain originates on branch or main lines and whether it moves east through Fort William, Port Arthur, and even by rail to Quebec or west through Vancouver. Rates on grain in Canada are from 40 to 50 per cent lower than those for the corresponding distances on railways in northern United States operating under substantially similar traffic conditions. Undoubtedly part of Canada's present railway difficulty is due to the unusually low statutory rates on grain. Nevertheless these rates may be justified on the ground that they permit Canadian growers to export wheat from the heart of a continent to the world market in competition with producers in Australia and the Argentine who have a long but relatively inexpensive water journey and only a short haul by rail where rates per mile are much higher than by sea. In any event the Western farmer is convinced that low grain rates are essential to his existence and though he may not have an intimate knowledge of past history, he realizes too that his favourable freight rates are a partial offset to the burden of the tariff.

This historical development may be summarized. In the first place there has been a close inter-relationship of tariff and railway policy. Originally tariff revenue was used to build railways but by 1911 a conflict appeared between the two programmes. The western farmer desired low transportation charges so that the net selling price for his wheat would be as large as possible. At the same time he wished lower duties on his clothing, his household goods, and his implements. The defeat of reciprocity cut off the farmer from the nearest market for his products and destroyed his hopes for tariff reductions on manufactured goods. The post-war depression in agriculture accentuated the problem. The rise of the farmer's own political party made the issue more clear-cut. A drastic reduction in the tariff in the early twenties was prevented by political circumstances within the party in power. Hence the demand for lower freight rates took a political turn which was aggravated by personal considerations and greatly strengthened by the Crownest Pass Agreement which gave the arguments for exceptionally low rates a plausibility which they would not have possessed on the basis of economic principles.

The second significant feature is the interference of politics. This factor is seen in the continued reference of the problem to

Parliament rather than to the Railway Board, in the appointments to the Board itself, in the chicanery surrounding the application of Crowsnest Pass rates on grain westbound through Vancouver. Finally it is important to note how the sectional strains of Confederation have impinged themselves on the railway rate structure of Canada. To a considerable extent the Canadian rate-making problem has become a matter of satisfying diverging regional interests without completely ruining both railways in the process.

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A. W. CURRIE

## DOCUMENT

### A LETTER ON THE WEST BY SIR EDMUND HEAD

For the suggestion that the following letter from Sir Edmund Head to Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton should be printed, and for information concerning it, the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is indebted to Professor W. M. Whitelaw. It is a document of value, since it throws some light on a problem on which historians have long sought more complete evidence. In the fifties the problem of the future of the territory from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and north of the American boundary, was coming increasingly to the fore with the development of a number of related factors. The Red River colony, with a growing population, was restive under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company; and its fate was in doubt, not only because of that, but also because of the broader issue of the future of the West as a whole. The rapid spread of settlement in the American West brought close connections between the United States and the colony in trade and transportation, ties which were strengthened by the presence of Americans in the colony itself; and both in England and Canada there was apprehension lest American expansion should turn north as well as west. The Province of Canada alone could hardly hope to acquire and govern the whole area to the west, but a federation with the Maritime Provinces, which had already been mooted, would make such a project more feasible. If it were attempted, however, it would require also a more effective system of transportation than then existed, and this could be provided only by a railway. Public interest in a line to the Pacific was shared by the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which was more and more coming to believe that its financial troubles were soluble by a transcontinental route.

With an eye to the acquisition of the lands, Canada disputed the claims of the Company to the West on legal grounds. The Company, then, was obliged to face the question of whether it should attempt to preserve the *status quo* or look toward a compromise. Opinion in the Company's council was divided, but one possible solution would be to abandon the southern belt to settlement and a railway, and to retain the more valuable fur-trading north. Because the trade monopoly would expire in 1859, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was struck in 1857 to consider the whole question. The two Canadians to give evidence before it were Chief Justice Draper and John Ross. The former—

presumably expressing the official view—favoured gradual settlement and absorption of the prairies, but with the Rockies as a western limit. Ross, President of the Grand Trunk, held that a railway could be built north of Lake Superior to the Red River, and by gradual stages to the Pacific. Sir George Simpson minimized the agricultural possibilities of the West, evidently hoping to stave off the process of settlement. Edward Ellice (who had in the previous year told Labouchère that the Company was willing to sell out) stated that the Company would be ready to sell any part of its territory, provided that Canada govern and police it, and prevent competition with its fur trade.

Following the report of the Select Committee, the question was discussed in the Assembly of Canada in 1858, and an address to the Queen drawn up, and concurred in by the Legislative Council, to the effect that Canada's claim in the West should be settled by a final decision of the validity of the Company's charter; and that any further licence to trade should allow for settlement of at least parts of the territory by Canada. It was this view, accepted by the Executive Council which Head forwarded with his letter.

From 1858 there is a gap in the evidence on the subject until 1862 when the correspondence in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company reveals negotiations between the Company, the Colonial Secretary, the Grand Trunk Railway, members of the Canadian government, and various financiers. Edward Watkin seems to have been the moving force, but several interests were involved. The Canadian government wanted all or part of the West, but Confederation and a railway were regarded as necessary conditions. The Grand Trunk was anxious to build to the Pacific, but could do so only if Confederation were accomplished and the West ceded. The Hudson's Bay Company was willing to sell out, at a price. The financial groups—the Barings and Glyn's—were concerned to save their interest in the Grand Trunk. The result of the negotiations may be briefly summarized: in 1863 the Company's stock was purchased by the International Financial Society, and the new Hudson's Bay Company had Richard Potter, then President of the Grand Trunk, as a member of the Board, and Edmund Head as Governor. Head's position in the whole affair is therefore important. He was an early advocate of Confederation, Governor of Canada until 1861, and a party to the correspondence concerning the sale of the Company. The exact relationship between his three capacities, and between cession of the West, Confederation, and the railway, is still to be known.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

The University of Toronto.

[*Public Archives of Canada, Series G, vol. 180B, no. 30*]

*Confidential*

Quebec, Sept. 9, 1858.

Sir

I have the honour to acknowledge your despatch of the 20th. of August 1858 marked "confidential" —Unfortunately my absence from Toronto prevents my referring at this moment to certain notes or memoranda on the subject of the Hudson's Bay territory, but I think it right to lose no time in answering the communication with which you have honoured me.

2. My own opinion fully coincides with the views expressed by yourself on the three main points.

- i. The propriety of submitting the validity of the Charter to a judicial tribunal, and making the compensation to the Company contingent on the decision of such tribunal.
- ii. The establishing a colony or colonies which should include the Red River settlement and the Saskatchewan country. If I recollect the map, to which I have not at this moment access, the north branch of the Saskatchewan empties itself through Cedar Lake into Lake Winnipeg, and this river might probably form the northern boundary of the district to be ceded by the Company.
- iii. The expediency of maintaining the control of the Company by licence over the wild portions of the country not set apart for colonization. In relation, however, to this part of the question, I would direct your attention to the proposal made on the part of the Canadian Government that licences to trade, subject to certain restrictions and penalties, should be granted by parties other than the Company in these outlying tracts.

3. We must not conceal from ourselves that the conditions of such licences might be habitually violated by traders, and that it would be difficult to enforce the penalties. Perhaps the best security for the Indians would be to have the control of the Company unimpaired within the limits of their licence, so long as they can effectually maintain it. I assume, of course, with you that all claim to monopoly of trade is to cease on their part in the territory itself when settlement is recognized.

4. I fear it will be found that the country of the Saskatchewan cannot as yet be successfully colonized without military protection of some kind. I have recently received in a private letter from Capt. Palliser an account of his journey up last spring, which shews clearly enough that the feuds of the Salteaux with the Sioux and other tribes make the frontier yet insecure. But what sort of military protection can be given? The Canadian Rifles at Fort Garry are evidently useless except as a stationary force within the walls of the fort which is never likely to be attacked. Any force destined to be effective in protecting settlers, and preventing horstealing and other crimes on the border, must be a mounted one of some kind. An officer who had been trained in the Cape mounted Rifles, or the irregular cavalry of the East, might probably organize such a militia force from among the half breeds of the Red River—but all this implies expense.

5. By this mail I forward in a public despatch a copy of a minute of the Executive Council of Canada pressing on the attention of Her Majesty's Government the resolutions of the Legislature respecting the Hudson's Bay territory. It may be feared that the projects of railways and canals across this wild tract of many

hundred miles are somewhat remote and misty, but I think it might be feasible to establish within a given time telegraphic communication between Fraser's River and Halifax; or now, in fact, directly with Great Britain. For this purpose posts of some sort for the protection of the wires would be necessary at intervals, and each of these posts would of itself form the nucleus of a settlement of some kind.

6. Canada will not readily undertake the Government of the Red River Settlement as a charge on her own revenues. She will assert her claims and rights in the abstract, but will object either to compensate the Company, or pay continuously for the maintenance of military protection or civil Government.

7. I am clearly of opinion that the revision of the fee of the colony, if I may so call it, ought to be at once vested in Canada, and I would so frame the Council that two or three of its members should be Canadians changed from time to time. In this way the interest of Canada in the Red River would be kept up, and men would hereafter be found within the former who knew the wants and the character of the new colony.

8. If any approximation is made to an Union of a federal character among the several North American colonies, the new settlement might easily be aggregated to this Union, and it is, perhaps, one great recommendation of this scheme at the present moment that it will thus admit of extending westward the body of our North American colonies. It is evident that from the distance and natural impediments the real and active management of local affairs at the Red River or on the Saskatchewan must be exercised on the spot, but the notion of union, and of interests common with Canada and the other North American colonies would have a strong tendency to prevent any leaning towards the United States, and would ensure to Her Majesty's Government the support of those colonies against any effort in this direction.

I have &c. . . .

(S<sup>d</sup>). EDMUND HEAD

The Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Sir E. B. Lytton.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### THE PLACE OF LAND IN NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATIONS

*Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway.* By JAMES B. HEDGES. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1939. Pp. x, 422. (\$4.50)

PROFESSOR HEDGES's volume is the most recent of a number of studies on the administration of land in Canada<sup>1</sup> and the United States, and the opportunity to review his book suggests a discussion of the significance of land in American economic and political development. It was a thesis of the late Professor Max Handman<sup>2</sup> that the impact of Spanish and Portuguese feudalism on the highly developed Indian civilization of Central and South America brought concentration on imports of precious metals to Europe and the transfer of feudal institutions to America with their emphasis on military conquest and land. In contrast, an Anglo-Dutch trading culture prevailed in North America. Its development weakened the feudalistic control of France and contributed to the breakdown of the French Empire and to the French Revolution. In turn, the feudalistic communities of Central and South America were affected by Anglo-Dutch trade and by the ideologies of the French Revolution which led to the collapse of the Spanish and Portuguese empires.

The pouring of specie into Spain and Portugal hastened the organization of trade by the Dutch and the English as a means of securing a share of it. The fishing industry developed from the West Country at Newfoundland as a basis for trade to Spain brought a decisive defeat to feudalism in Newfoundland with the result that ownership of land was unimportant until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The possibilities of settlement on the continent, however, supported a fishing industry in the new world which with a widely extended trade fostered the occupation of land and defeat of the companies. In New France the more conspicuous feudalistic character of the mother country left a stronger feudalistic stamp. The feudal organization of France supported a demand for furs, and expansion of trade in that commodity to the interior necessitated the entrenchment of feudalism as a basis for defence<sup>3</sup> of the St. Lawrence. In New France companies were replaced by direct supervision under the crown in 1663 and in the English colonies by the crown and assemblies representing settlement. "In the plenty of good land the English colonies of North America, though, no doubt, very abundantly provided, are, however, inferior to those of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and not superior to some of those possessed by the French before the late war. But the political institutions of the English colonies have been more favourable

<sup>1</sup>The volumes in the "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement" series contain a great deal of valuable material. Of particular interest in this connection is the volume by Professor A. S. Morton and Professor Chester Martin, *History of Prairie Settlement and "Dominion Lands" Policy* (Toronto, 1938; reviewed in this journal March, 1939, 71-2). See also N. Macdonald, *Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement* (Toronto, 1939; reviewed Dec., 1939, 435); and two articles by R. G. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Dec., 1937, 385), and "The Policy of Creating Land Reserves in Canada" (*Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong* ed. by R. Flenley, Toronto, 1939).

<sup>2</sup>"The Bureaucratic Culture Pattern and Political Revolution" (*American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 1933, 301-15).

<sup>3</sup>W. B. Munro, *The Seigneurial System in Canada* (New York, 1907).



to the improvement and cultivation of this land than those of any of the other three nations. First the engrossing of uncultivated land, though it has by no means been prevented altogether, has been more restrained in the English colonies than any other."<sup>4</sup>

The growth of settlement in the English colonies and the decline of feudalism (as reflected in the control by companies or the crown over land) strengthened the power of the Assemblies and weakened the power of the Executive by depriving it of sources of revenue from land.<sup>5</sup> While the power of the crown through control over land declined, the power of Parliament through the control over trade increased. After the restoration, Parliament insisted on a coronation oath in which the King was "to govern the people of the kingdom of Great Britain and the dominions thereunto belonging according to the statutes of parliament agreed on and the respective laws and customs of the same" but it resisted efforts such as those of the Board of Trade to persuade it to encroach on prerogatives of the crown concerned with land rather than trade. The colonies<sup>6</sup> conceded demands of Parliament in the mercantilism of the Navigation Acts, which followed the decline of companies, but they opposed the imposition of internal direct taxes as an interference with the rights of the Assemblies which had grown up under the crown. The Stamp Act was accordingly withdrawn and the Townshend Acts which imposed duties on external trade were passed. At the same time Parliament extended its control by the Declaratory Act insisting on supremacy. The Massachusetts Assembly in its *answer* to Governor Hutchinson on March 2, 1773, insisted on the continued importance of the crown and opposed the extension of the control of Parliament. It stated that

upon the principles advanced, the Lordship and dominion, later that of the lands in England, was in the king solely, and a right from thence accrued to him, of disposing such territories under such tenure, and for such services to be performed, as the king or lord thought proper. We conceive that upon the feudal principles all power is in the king; they afford us no idea of parliament. We have said that our ancestors considered the land, which they took possession of in America, as out of the bounds of the kingdom of England, and out of the reach and extent of the laws of England; and that the king also, even in the act of granting the charter, considered the territory as not within the realm; that the king had an absolute right in himself to dispose of the lands and that this was not disputed by the nation; and that, therefore, our ancestors received the lands, by grant from the king; and at the same time compacted with him, and promised him homage and allegiance not in his public or politic, but natural capacity only.<sup>7</sup>

The declaration of Congress in 1774 conceded the right of Parliament to regulate external trade, asserting

that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented, in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their

<sup>4</sup>Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (New York, 1937), 538-9.

<sup>5</sup>See B. W. Bond, *The Quit-rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919); also J. E. Howe, "Quit-rents in New Brunswick" (*Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1928, 55-61).

<sup>6</sup>See C. P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (Wisconsin University Studies in the Social Sciences and History, no. 20, 1934); A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* (New York, 1917); C. L. Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776* (Madison, 1909).

<sup>7</sup>Cited by C. H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation* (New York, 1923), 130.

several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the Mother Country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.<sup>8</sup>

The Colonial Tax Repeal Act<sup>9</sup> (18 Geo. III, 112), 1778, in turn conceded the following clause:

From and after the passing of this Act the King and Parliament will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any of his Majesty's colonies, provinces or plantations in North America or the West Indies, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony, province, or plantation in which the same shall be respectively levied in such manner as other duties collected by the authority of the respective general courts or general assemblies of such colonies, provinces or plantations are ordinarily paid and applied.

In the second empire this Act served as a guarantee to Nova Scotia with its Assembly but not to the province of Quebec which had not been granted an Assembly in the Quebec Act partly because of the possibility of losing control over revenue and trade especially following the decision of Lord Mansfield in *Campbell v. Hall*<sup>10</sup> with regard to Grenada. Duties were continued from the French régime but these were replaced by others in the Quebec Revenue Act<sup>11</sup> (14 Geo. III, c. 88), 1774. The grant of an Assembly in 1791 introduced and extended the guarantee provided by the Colonial Tax Repeal Act of 1778 to Upper and Lower Canada<sup>12</sup> but it did not deprive the Executive of substantial support from the earlier Quebec Revenue Act.<sup>13</sup> "The net produce of such duties" from acts passed after 1778 was paid to the Assemblies, but revenues from the Quebec Revenue Act of 1774 remained under the control of the Executive to 1831 and with them the revenue from lands. The seigniorial system continued from the French régime in Lower Canada and substantial returns from trade enabled the Executive to evade control of the Assembly. As a result of its geographic position, control of the Executive and of the Assembly over revenue from trade limited the revenue of Upper Canada, led to continuous friction, and compelled the latter to impose taxes on land.<sup>14</sup> The attempt to extend and consolidate control by the St. Lawrence against possible attacks from the United States was accompanied by the alienation of large quantities of land. Professor N. A. MacDonald<sup>15</sup> has vividly described the ill effects of the management of lands by the Executive under the crown and

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 115-16.

<sup>9</sup>W. F. M. Kennedy (ed.), *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929* (Toronto, 1930), 167.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 140-1; see also 15 Geo. III, c. 40, p. 153. See G. S. Graham, *British Policy and Canada, 1774-1791* (London, 1930), chap. vi.

<sup>12</sup>Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents*, 204; see also 1 and 2 Wm. IV, c. 23, pp. 262-3.

<sup>13</sup>See D. G. Creighton, "The Struggle for Financial Control in Lower Canada, 1818-1831" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1931, 120-44).

<sup>14</sup>D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1937), 129.

<sup>15</sup>*Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement.*

Parliament and their contributions to the outbreaks in 1837-8, and the struggle for control under responsible government.

In the ninety-two resolutions of the Assembly of Lower Canada in 1834 it was stated<sup>16</sup> "that the executive government has endeavoured by means of the arbitrary regulations . . . and particularly by the sale of the waste lands of the Crown and the timber on the same, to create for itself out of the revenue which this house only has the right of appropriating, resources independent of the control of the representatives of the people." While Glenelg insisted in his dispatch to Gosford of July 17, 1835, that "the office of settling and alienating the uncleared territory properly belongs to the executive government," he prepared the way for the handing over of the public lands in return for a civil list.<sup>17</sup> In the Act of Union (3 and 4 Vic., c. 35) this was "carried into effect."<sup>18</sup>

Revenue<sup>19</sup> from timber and lands increased materially under the control of United Canada but control over revenues from trade continued the centre of interest. The trend toward free trade in the United Kingdom hastened the decline of revenues under the colonial system, and the increase of revenues from tariffs imposed by the provinces. Canals were constructed with loans guaranteed by Great Britain based on revenues from tariffs on imports obtained chiefly by exports of staple products. Revenue was obtained indirectly from imports rather than directly from exports. In the old empire control over land by Parliament was resisted and control over trade admitted, but in the new empire control over trade was resisted and pressed forward to control over land.

A study of land policy in Canada and the Maritime Provinces under responsible government prior to Confederation would indicate the methods by which the problems inherited from the previous period were solved. The Clergy Reserves Act and the Seigniorial Tenures Act in 1854 disposed of these controversial questions and liquidated major difficulties of feudalism. Lower costs of transportation by canals and railways hastened settlement and by the early sixties "the best lands of the Crown" had passed into private hands. Increasing distance and higher transportation costs lessened the possibility of securing returns from sales of land, and the Homestead Act of 1862 in the United States was a recognition of this trend. The competition of free land finally removed land as a basis of revenue in the United Province of Canada. The accumulated debt emerging from the construction of canals, railways, and roads and competition from American transportation development contributed to the demand for a larger governmental structure in Confederation and to increasing interest in the prairie regions.

The importance of tariffs rather than direct taxes was in part a result of competition from the United States. Prior to the Revolution, grants of land in the various colonies which placed the landowner in an increasingly powerful position, and increase in trade which strengthened the merchants in the Assemblies, led to resistance to direct taxation and in turn to indirect taxation. The emphasis of the colonies on a feudal relationship to the crown rather than to Parliament weakened

<sup>16</sup>Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents*, 284. "The irresponsible manner in which the land granting department is conducted, the salary disproportioned to the duties performed, which is attached to the office and other abuses connected with the Woods and Forests, demand revision" (*ibid.*, 294).

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 307, also 343.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 440, 444, also 17-18 Vic., c. 534; see Chester Martin, "Lord Durham's Report and Its Consequences" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, June, 1939, 178).

<sup>19</sup>See "A History of Crown Timber Regulations" (*Report of the Department of Lands, Forests and Mines*, 1907); R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Cambridge, 1926).

their position in relation to federation. As they withdrew from the first empire they were compelled to substitute for the centralized control from Great Britain, a federal constitution which protected their individualistic background, and provided for the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce,<sup>20</sup> for continuation of the power of the common law in the Supreme Court, and for control over land outside the states as a basis for revenue and expansion. Colonies along an extended coast line were not in a position to exercise central control<sup>21</sup> over trade and they were impelled to concentrate on land in the interior as a means of securing revenues.<sup>22</sup> Centralized control over land and the persistent difficulties in disposing of it as a source of revenue necessitated encouragement of settlement, which involved competition with the provinces remaining under British control and contributed to the discontent which led to the collapse of the system. The American federation was compelled to rely on land as a basis of finance but the difficulties favoured tariffs as a source of revenue. Consequently United Canada and later the Canadian federation were unable to rely on land and compelled to rely on the tariff. Revenue was obtained to improve transportation to meet competition in the expanding market of the Western States through tariffs on imports. The importance of centralization on the St. Lawrence facilitated the collection of revenues from trade under the Act of Union and Confederation. Land, forests, and minerals<sup>23</sup> were of relatively minor importance and revenue from trade and tariffs became the basis for subsidies<sup>24</sup> paid by the federal government to the provinces and for the

<sup>20</sup>A. C. McLaughlin, *The Foundation of American Constitutionalism* (New York, 1932), 157.

<sup>21</sup>V. G. Setser, *The Commercial Reciprocity Policy of the United States, 1774-1820* (Philadelphia, 1937).

<sup>22</sup>See Merrill Jensen, "The Creation of the National Domain" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dec., 1939, 323-42); also P. J. Treat, *The National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, 1910); B. H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924); Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884).

<sup>23</sup>Under the British North America Act the provinces controlled "the management and sale of the public lands belonging to the province and of the timber and wood thereon" (subsection 5, section 92). "All lands, mines, minerals, and royalties belonging to the several provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the union and all sums then due or payable for such lands, mines, minerals or royalties shall belong to the several provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or are subject to any trust existing in respect thereof and to any interest other than that of the province in the same" (section 109).

<sup>24</sup>The reviewer has accepted with approval the statement that "at Confederation it was decided to make of the natural resources the cornerstone of finance" made in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Transfer of the Natural Resources of Manitoba in 1929 in the *Report of the Royal Commission, Provincial Economic Inquiry* (Halifax, 1934), 208, but he now feels that this cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Recognition of the *supremacy of Parliament* destroys the dominance of feudalism and the common law. While insistence on the position of land in the feudal structure served as an effective argument in the American Revolution and in adjustments of the Canadian constitution, it introduces rigidities of a serious character. No acceptable formula has been developed by which compensation for the use of lands by the Dominion can be determined, and the search for such a formula obscures the demands for adjustments based on need. Not only are adjustments hampered in western Canada but the difficulties of adjustment are increased so far as the provinces which have had control over natural resources since Confederation are concerned. The enormous gains in hydro-electric power sites, minerals, and the pulp and paper industry which have emerged from the advance of technology in a region which was a northern waste must be regarded under the feudalistic approach as the inherent property of the old provinces. Natural resources were given to the Prairie Provinces after a large portion of the most valuable land had been alienated. See Chester Martin, *The Natural Resources Question* (Winnipeg, 1920).

payment of interest on debt transferred by the provinces to the federal government.

Apparently in return for the construction and operation of the Intercolonial Railway as provided for by the Act, the imperial government,<sup>25</sup> regarded it as a defence measure, guaranteed a substantial loan and arranged for the handing over of lands belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company and the dependence of the Company on trade in furs discouraged settlement and the establishment of an Assembly as had been the case on the St. Lawrence in the French régime. Land was returned by the Company to the crown and in turn to the Canadian Parliament under the British North America Act and the Rupert's Land Act. Monopoly control in the interests of the fur trade delayed the growth of settlement but construction of the railway reversed the trend and settlement was encouraged. Increase in the tariff under the national policy and other monopoly devices enabled the Canadian Pacific Railway to reap the full advantages of this reversal. The management of land in western Canada was directed primarily to the growth of trade from eastern Canada and of traffic eastbound and westbound for the railway. Professor Martin in his work on "*Dominion Lands*" Policy<sup>26</sup> and Professor Hedges in his *Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada*<sup>27</sup> and in his more recent work have described the policies of the government and of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the exploitation of their monopoly position. Retention of natural resources by the provinces entering Confederation and the establishment of separate provincial departments necessitated the creation of a new department by the federal government for the administration of lands in western Canada. This department was forced to compete with the United States and was strongly influenced by American practices in administration. Both authors indicate the importance of land in relation to government and railway policies but they do not stress sufficiently the significance of monopoly control in Canada. Both authors emphasize (this reviewer thinks unduly, as the resources were of slight consequence at that time) implications of control over natural resources by the old provinces, including British Columbia, in the necessity of making large grants of land "fairly fit for settlement" in the prairie region to an alert syndicate for the construction of a transcontinental railway.

Professor Hedges in his recent work *Building the Canadian West* has concentrated on the land and colonization policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He has had access to the archives of the Company and as a foil has used the files of the *Manitoba Free Press*. It provides a valuable supplement to Professor Morton's work with its dependence on the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and on settlers' accounts, and to Professor Martin's work with its dependence on the material made available in the evidence presented to the Royal Commissions on natural resources in the Prairie Provinces. In the latter work it is suggested that the policy of the C.P.R. was advantageous to settlement partly on the basis of low prices of land as compared to those of the Hudson's Bay Company and school lands. Professor Hedges points to the policy of the C.P.R. in holding its sections until the alternate sections were disposed of as homesteads by the government and to the policy of selling land tributary to its own railway and holding it or selling with a view to speculation where it was tributary to other railways. He suggests that a

<sup>25</sup>D. G. G. Kerr, "Edmund Head, Robert Lowe, and Confederation" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Dec., 1939, 409).

<sup>26</sup>Toronto, 1938.

<sup>27</sup>Cambridge, 1934; reviewed in *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, March, 1935, 86.

policy concerned with railway traffic favoured conservative prices and acted as a stabilizing factor. School lands and Hudson's Bay lands were scattered over a large area and sold at a later stage of economic development with emphasis on speculation rather than on railway traffic. Neither Professor Martin nor Professor Hedges discusses the full implications of this policy. While the C.P.R. held land for sale in territory not tributary to its railway and possibly with other large land-holding organizations increased costs of settlement in terms of schools and community organization, its withholding of such land permitted the concentration of the settler on grain production from his own land and livestock production on the open range or on the adjoining C.P.R. sections. The sale of these sections, when it took place, tended to force the settler to concentrate still further on wheat.

In the period immediately following incorporation, the Company developed a land policy based on American experience of selling land and townsites adjacent to the main line, and pouring the returns into hotels, and an immigration policy designed to attract settlers from eastern Canada, the United States, and Europe. With the upward swing after 1896, settlers, encouraged by the activities of colonization companies, moved from the higher priced land of the United States. The frontal wave of wheat miners which swept across the continent was speeded up. The account of the technique of propaganda is illuminating. Schools, churches, markets, postal facilities, newspapers by advertising and editors' excursions, harvester excursions, and steamship agencies were among the devices by which the immigrants, their families, and religious groups<sup>28</sup> were shaken from their communities and moved to western Canada.

The location of the main line to the south, according to Professor Hedges, involved building up traffic in this region by concentration on settlement, a reduction in the amount of land "fairly fit for settlement," and dependence on northern reserves and on acquisition of government sections to develop an irrigation block tributary to the railway. From 1905 to 1914 policy was marked by "the disposal of the land in a manner which would best serve the larger interests of the railway" (p. 293). Following the success of the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company invested enormous sums in opening the irrigation block to settlement. From dependence on a colonization company it built up an elaborate sales organization. The Canadian Pacific Irrigation Colonization Company was taken over by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1908. A Department of Natural Resources was formed in 1912 and was followed by a Department of Colonization and Development in 1916 with a view, it was said, to building up the rural areas to support the urban areas. Terms were steadily improved for the settler. In 1896 settlers were allowed two years to make the initial payment. In 1908 payment plans were introduced and assisted settlement schemes were initiated by the use of loans. A twenty-year payment plan was introduced in 1912 but changed to a thirty-four year amortization plan in 1923. Various adjustments were made after the depression.<sup>29</sup> These adjustments suggest that monopoly advantages had steadily declined. The organization built up with its headquarters at Calgary to colonize the irrigation block turned after the war to the disposal of the reserves in the Edmonton, Battleford, and Lloydminster areas. Rise in land values through construction of competitive lines to the north

<sup>28</sup>See C. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

<sup>29</sup>See C. S. Burchill, "The Eastern Irrigation District" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, May, 1939, 206-16).



and construction of its own branch lines was expected to offset the difficulties to the south. Competition in this region was a part of the struggle between the two railways in the twenties. Professor Hedges has given a most valuable account of the policy of the C.P.R., largely the policy of J. S. Dennis, in settlement of the West.

Both Professor Martin and Professor Hedges point to the waste of human and natural resources which marked the policy of monopoly resulting from concentration on rapid settlement by the government and the Company. The balance still remains to be struck as to the results of settlement and land policies in the occupation of North America by European peoples. President Bowman,<sup>30</sup> as becomes a geographer, has discussed at length the role of land as a factor in political history and his interest has sponsored the publication of the "Frontiers of Settlement" series. Henry George seized upon land as the key to reform. Turner emphasized the importance of free land in his frontier thesis. Professor Andrews has written that "in no single particular have the customs of the past been more tenacious and persistent than in the domain of real property, for even today the laws governing descent, contract, conveyance, and tenure bear marks of their feudal origin." Even in these days the importance attached to land is evident in struggles to adjust national boundaries. A policy of restriction of trade and of specialization increases the importance of policies concerned with land. Adam Smith made his attack on the companies and on mercantilism, and Ricardo paved the way for release of the control of the landowner over trade by stressing the importance of trade to the value of land. The interest in land persists as a relic of feudalism. Refusal to recognize the supremacy of Parliament in the American colonies created difficulties which left their stamp on the constitution of the United States and in turn on the constitution of Canada. Recognition of the supremacy of Parliament in Canada provided an escape the significance of which has not been thoroughly appreciated because of the strength of colonial and American precedents.

The history of land policies in North America indicates the role of feudalism in the constitutional framework but it suggests primarily the importance of trade and the increasing importance of money and credit. The competition of free land on the frontier operated as a powerful deterrent to effective control over settlement by governments. Inability of feudal institutions such as federal constitutions to secure support from land (except in the case of the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and its transfer to the monopoly of the federal government and of the Canadian Pacific Railway and even here large dividends have been followed by cessation) compelled reliance on revenue from tariffs on trade. Finally the inefficiencies of the latter device have led to taxes on incomes. Land<sup>31</sup> has ceased to differ in any fundamental way from capital but it will be long before our constitutions are adapted to this fact and it will be long before the iniquities attributable to them are overcome.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Isaiah Bowman, *The New World* (New York, 1928).

<sup>31</sup>See F. H. Knight, "The Ricardian Theory of Production and Distribution" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Feb., 1935, 18-19).

<sup>32</sup>See G. E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy* (Toronto, 1939), xii-xiv; and also A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (Toronto, 1938), xvii-xviii and *passim*.



## VIXIT AD POSTEROS

*Essays in Canadian History. Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his Eightieth Birthday.* Edited by R. FLENLEY. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. xii, 372. (\$2.50)

It was a happy inspiration which prompted the giving of this tribute to Professor Wrong on the occasion of his admission to the ranks of illustrious octogenarians. He has lived long, a happy life with honour at its close, and this book reveals that he has "lived to posterity." The imprint which he placed upon the study and writing of Canadian history will be felt for years to come, even unto the third or fourth generation. No form of felicitation could be more appropriate, therefore, than a book which bears on every page the influence of him whom it is designed to honour. When George M. Wrong was appointed to the chair of history at the University of Toronto almost a half-century ago there was a raising of eyebrows and a shaking of heads, as I can well remember. He was young, too young to have written anything of consequence, with no experience as a college teacher; yet he was being given the most-coveted professorship of history in Canada, a chair vacated by one of the Dominion's most distinguished and versatile scholars. But the new appointee was not long in putting these sceptics on the run. From the outset he showed himself a teacher of originality and power. Within two or three years he launched a project which has become the most significant single influence upon the study and writing of Canadian history during the past four decades, namely, the annual *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* which became the progenitor of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The courage needed to carry this enterprise through its initial years was far greater than the younger Canadian historians of today can easily realize. Mr. Wrong believed, with Emerson, that "the use of history is to give value to the present hour and its duty." But it could not have this value if embodied in books which were themselves valueless. To improve the quality of historical writing in any country there must be some way of establishing standards, and of giving recognition to merit, especially among younger authors. So Professor Wrong took this job in hand, and for the first time in Canadian historical reviewing the wheat found itself winnowed from the chaff as it came from the publishers' mills.

The forthright boldness with which this was done proved a rude shock to the complacency which had been flowing undisturbed in high places; and some of the self-esteemed scrawlers fairly boiled with wrath; but its effect in raising the whole plane of historical writing in Canada would be difficult to over-estimate. To my mind this pioneer insistence that mediocrity and merit be both called by their right names is the most outstanding of all the services rendered by Mr. Wrong to the profession which he has so long adorned. Fifty years ago anyone could get recognition as a historian in Canada by publishing a regurgitation of Parkman, Garneau, or Christie, and there were not a few who did it. Happily nothing of that sort is possible today, and Mr. Wrong has done more than any other man to make it so. In doing it, moreover, he never failed to give an encouraging word to young writers along the road. Back in those days, which now seem so afar off, I was one of them.

The present volume of essays, written by former students or by colleagues, is an impressive tribute to the versatility of interest which is now to be found among the younger writers in the field of Canadian history. Besides the vivid introductory sketch, which is of a biographical nature, there are fifteen essays covering a wide

range of subjects from cultural developments in New France before 1760 to the external relations of the Dominion at the present day. Some deal with problems of constitutional law, others with political movements, and others again with social or economic forces. In spite of this diversity, however, all the essays have two important features in common, namely, their utilization of authoritative materials and their scrupulous adherence to the accepted canons of sound historical writing. Alike in substance and in style they set a high standard.

To touch even the high spots in a volume which covers such an intriguing variety of topics, and presents so many interesting points of view, would be impossible in any brief survey. Professor Chester Martin's introductory essay on Mr. Wrong's services to historiography in Canada is a fitting prelude to all that comes after. It is appreciative without being adulatory, and places the emphasis where it ought to be. In twenty pages Professor Keith Feiling silhouettes the general British background of Canadian history. Not an easy task in such brief compass, but the result is a chapter well worth reading, because some things which have not hitherto received adequate recognition are singled out for proper attention. Then Professor Flenley discusses the reverberations of the French Revolution in Canada. He takes issue with the traditional idea that "in 1789 France cared very little about Canada, and Canada even less about France." There was real interest on both sides but it was deadened by the logic of events, as Mr. Flenley shows in a careful analysis of the various considerations which, on the one side, impelled the French Canadians to feel that "we're all right as we are," and on the other hand rendered it impossible for France to make even a fair start toward regaining what she had lost.

The contrast between Canada and Ireland in their march towards self-government is the theme of an illuminating essay by Professor McDougall. This discussion breaks some new ground. Lord Durham found two nations warring within the bosom of a single state. That was Canada in 1837. It was Ireland also, during most of the nineteenth century. Why was the conflict resolved so much more easily in the one case than in the other? The quest for an answer requires an excursion into the details of British politics during the reign of George III and after.

One of the most penetrating essays in the book is devoted to a comparison of the two North American federations by Professor Edgar McInnis. This time-worn theme is treated in a fresh and luminous way. But the author leans rather too strongly on the old notion that the constitution of the United States, as framed by the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, was the work of a minority interest which was chiefly concerned with the protection of its own property and power. It is true that the members of this Convention, most of them, were men of property, owners of depreciated government bonds, who stood to gain by establishing a new order. But the same is true of those who signed the Declaration of Independence! Does it necessarily follow, in either case, that their lodestar was the service of their own class rather than the general well-being? To say that the fathers of the American constitution "had no faith in democracy and no trust in politicians" is going considerably too far. A few of them may have merited that characterization but it was hardly true of Madison, Wilson, Sherman, or the group as a whole. Mr. McInnis quotes Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts as expressing the prevailing sentiment—but Gerry did not approve the constitution and did not sign it! His distrusts were not shared by most of his colleagues.

Greater emphasis, it would seem, might have been placed in this essay on the

sobering influence which the American Civil War exerted on the minds of those who framed the Quebec resolutions. That struggle had demonstrated the weakness of the American system, not merely in its devolution of residuary powers to the states but in its setting up of a Senate with power to hamstring the chief executive and its stipulation that the states should retain the right to have their own militia. From American experience the framers of the British North America Act learned some things to do, but more things to avoid. In comparing the two systems, moreover, undue stress is always placed by Canadian writers upon the contrasting distribution of powers. Although the residuum is differently placed in the two federations, this has not proved to be of such great practical importance as it appears to be on paper, because judicial decisions in both countries have been highly important in preserving a balance. They have strengthened the federal government in the one case and weakened it in the other. Hence it cannot be said today that the national government of the United States, despite the theoretical retention of residual powers by the states, has a less extensive endowment of legal authority than is possessed by the federal government at Ottawa.

Five of the essays are concerned with a variety of Canadian political and governmental questions. Professor W. P. M. Kennedy discusses briefly, in his usual trenchant way, the terms of the great statute on which the structure of Canadian government rests. Professor Frank H. Underhill follows with a study of Edward Blake's services to Canadian liberal nationalism, while the contributions made by Macdonald and his phalanx of Conservative colleagues to national unity are ably enumerated by Professor D. G. Creighton. A survey of the position and powers of a provincial Lieutenant-Governor during the years following Confederation is from the pen of Professor W. N. Sage, and while it ostensibly deals with a subject of rather local interest it does so in a way which illuminates the whole problem of titular versus actual authority in provincial government. Professor G. deT. Glazebrook, in his discussion of the permanent factors which determine Canada's external relations, makes it clear that in spite of changing conditions Canada has had a reasonably consistent and continuous foreign policy, motivated jointly by considerations of trade and defence.

One of the best essays in the volume, by reason of its originality, is Professor A. R. M. Lower's contribution on geographical determinants in Canadian history. A nation has developed out of a transportation route, he explains, with the long line from east to west "swelling out at intervals into little bulbs," which represent the settled areas. Canadian history is a chronicle of the gradual projection of this line, with the development of these bulbs and their hinterlands.

If the remaining essays must be passed over with a bare mention it is not because they deserve any such cavalier treatment. The contributions of Professors W. S. Wallace, J. Bartlet Brebner, and Mr. R. G. Riddell on the survival of Canada, on certain aspects of the Canadian fur trade, and on the policy of creating land reserves are fully up to the standard set by the others in interest and quality. The same is true of the concluding essays by Professor Richard M. Saunders on the cultural development of New France and by Professor George W. Brown on the formative period of the Canadian Protestant churches. The former adduces, by the way, ample evidence that the amenities of life were developed along the St. Lawrence during the old régime to a greater extent than has been usually appreciated by historians.

All in all, these essays are worthy of the distinguished historian to whom they are inscribed, and there can hardly be much higher commendation than that.

"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples." Professor Wrong could ask no more convincing testimony to the breadth of his influence than what these, his disciples, have given him.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Pasadena, California.

*The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering.* By LAWRENCE A. HARPER. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 503. (\$3.75)

ANYONE who has investigated, even in a limited way, the widely scattered records dealing with the English Navigation System cannot but sympathize with Mr. Harper, who returned to the University of California, as he ruefully confesses, with 200 pounds of notes and 15,000 photographed pages. His book represents, therefore, a constant fight against the temptation to give the details so laboriously acquired; and, although in some chapters he may have failed in the struggle, when one considers the volume and range of the materials collected and interpreted (there are thirty-one closely packed pages of bibliography and ten pages of statutes cited) his victory must be conceded.

The use of the term "mercantilism" in a disparaging sense seems to have become general in the later eighteenth century, particularly among those who advocated the opposite system of free trade. Turgot called it a jealous policy, injurious to all states without being useful to any, because it made of commerce, which should have been a tie between nations, a source of divisions and war. While there is something to be said for this criticism, yet, as Mr. Lipson has pointed out in the third volume of his *Economic History of England*, the fundamental object of the Navigation System was to establish the power of a state by making it independent of other states in the economic sphere. The object of Mr. Harper's book is to find out how far the plan succeeded. In other words, he is not interested in the virtues or vices of mercantilism as represented by the Navigation Laws, but in the question, "whether the laws helped England to prepare for war and to hold her own in the economic competition which preceded it." Since the laws aimed to develop maritime power by fostering English shipping, training English seamen, developing English ship-building, and preserving English trade, Mr. Harper has sought to test their success not only by examining the part they played in these respects, but in estimating the extent to which they eliminated foreign shipping, helped in the control of the enumerated articles, and strengthened England's hold over the colonial market. The free trader insisted that commerce flourished best when free, and that the Navigation Laws defeated the very ends they were designed to foster. There is no way of measuring what volume of trade might have existed without legislative restraints, but the author has, by judicious use of contemporary statistics, custom books, and trade and shipping returns provided evidence (which, despite discrepancies, has cumulative force) that the Navigation Acts did increase rather than diminish England's share of the world's trade. The chief aim of the system was *power*, and, Mr. Harper has demonstrated that, judged by this standard, England relatively improved her position.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, on the origin of the laws, reviews the legislative history of the Act of 1651, which, modified by the Restoration Parliament in 1660, governed English navigation for two centuries. There has been some argument as to whether this Act of 1651 was inspired by national interests or wholly by corporate selfishness. In all probability both contributed,

although Mr. Harper points out that, with the exception of the Merchant Adventurers, the interests of the other great trading companies lay in breaking the *entrepôt* and carrying trade of the Netherlands, which was the main intention of the law. In any event, it is difficult to place a finger on any one "pressure group," since the clauses were referred from committee to committee for opinions. Commissioners of Customs, the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the law officers of the crown, financiers, merchants, ship-owners, and even farmers had a share in their making. Petitions streamed into Parliament, and pamphleteers warred at the doors.

Part II is a detailed study of the administrative regulations for enforcement in England, the machinery of which has been dealt with in Miss Elizabeth Hoon's *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (New York, 1938). Mr. Harper analyses the methods of enforcement, on the waterfront, within the courts, and even in extra-territorial regions. In part III, he deals with the problem of enforcement in the colonies, a field which Miss Hoon has barely touched. The story of administration in the seventeenth century is much the same as in the British North American colonies of the late eighteenth century. After 1696 Parliament had a reasonably efficient administrative mechanism, but continued to be negligent in providing the necessary staff and equipment to enforce the laws. Hence the prevalence of smuggling, which, however, Mr. Harper is inclined to think has been exaggerated. A possible criticism of part III is that the burden of detail sometimes accentuates the trees at the expense of the forest, too much emphasis being laid on individual court cases or examples of administrative applications. Chapter XV (colonial courts) and chapter XVI (governors and their handicaps) are rather cluttered up with illustrations, and there are few long-range interpretations to lighten the reader's task.

Chapter XIX, on Asia, Africa, and America, will hold most interest for Canadian scholars; and here Mr. Harper admits that colonial trade unquestionably benefited more from the spread of population than from any legal code. At the same time, England profited only from that portion which she controlled, and the Navigation Acts deserve credit in so far as they helped to promote a monopoly. English maritime prosperity after the American Revolution by no means weakens this conclusion, for British-American trade after 1783 was largely one of adjusting routes, a consequence, the author might have added, of habit, and of American dependence on British industry.

Part IV attempts to analyse the general results, which have been referred to above. This is obviously the most difficult problem of all, since many conclusions have to be based on contemporary statistics. Tonnage figures, although leaving much to be desired in the way of accuracy and completeness, provide, nevertheless, the best rough index of the growth of English trade and shipping, and the author's interpretations in chapter XXII are the most interesting and perhaps the best founded in the whole book.

In making abundant use of statistics, Mr. Harper has pursued a double line of enquiry, partly historical and partly philosophical. He is not content merely to describe events in the manner of the old narrative history. The chief purpose of his work, he explains, "is to analyse the process of social engineering, as exemplified by the Navigation Acts, in the hope that it may throw some light upon the problems involved in our present social experiments." In other words, he is seeking, from a confused mass of events and ideas, generalizations which will have something of the force of scientific laws. The plan gives added precision to his work, but it is

doubtful if the results can have useful modern application. All history affords evidence of the appearance and re-appearance in the past of problems which are familiar to us today, but Mr. Harper, like many other scientific investigators, fails to discover any other than the obvious uniformities which might help him to assess the future on the basis of an ordered past. It may be that there are certain immutable principles of social science, but they are valid only in so far as they are validly applied, and the author's generalizations on the Navigation Laws as a product of social engineering appear as inconclusive comments rather than as scientific hypotheses, tested by logic and fact. Despite the somewhat pretentious sub-title, Mr. Harper has made an exceedingly valuable contribution to our knowledge of seventeenth-century mercantilism, but he has written—apparently what he was seeking to avoid—good, old-fashioned history.

GERALD S. GRAHAM

Queen's University.

*The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760.* By BASIL WILLIAMS. (Oxford History of England, XI.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xx, 464. (\$3.75)

*The Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth.* By Sir JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. London: Nicholson and Watson. 1939. Pp. xvi, 388. (12s. 6d.)

WITH each successive volume, the Oxford History of England gives new proof of its inestimable value to the student of English history. The latest addition is Professor Williams's study of the early eighteenth century; and in breadth of scholarship and felicity of presentation, it is a work to command unqualified admiration. The basic idea of the series—the treatment of political developments as a manifestation of the underlying social and economic conditions—is especially appropriate to this particular period: and the author's application of this method has resulted in a rounded and coherent picture of a very remarkable age.

That coherence is aided by the very nature of the age itself. Parrington has spoken of the "inner pervasive unity" which characterized the eighteenth century. Professor Williams recognizes this same quality when he describes it as "an age of stability in politics, in religion, in literature and in social observances, a stability needed to enable the nation to recover its poise after more than a century of excitement."

This stability rested to no small extent upon the ascendancy of a single class. Politically, and in many respects socially as well, the story of the age is the story of the Whig aristocracy. Behind these self-confident magnates stand the ruder but no less self-confident figures of two other classes—the mercantile interest, now in its heyday, and the emerging industrialists engaged in the vigorous process of creating an economic revolution. But neither of these two groups is in conflict with the political ruling class; on the contrary, their harmony based on mutual usefulness might well be the envy of later and more jarring times. Perhaps that harmony is not entirely shared by the mass of the people, the objects of a dislike and a repression by their betters which Professor Williams vividly portrays. But the masses do little of their own initiative to affect the course of events. It is the aristocracy, in close alliance with the substantial *bourgeoisie*, who shape the destiny of the age.

That was the age of Walpole and the Pelhams—an age materialist in its outlook and ruthless in its methods, but—under Walpole at least—by no means inefficient



in the achievement of its immediate purposes. Though these pages add little to the established knowledge of Walpole and his policies, they offer an excellent critical appraisal of the nature and the results of his system, and a comprehensive survey of the factors, in the structure of society and in the machinery of state, with which he had to deal. On the Pelham era, with its conflicts of personalities and its muddled and indecisive policies, the treatment is brief as to home affairs; but foreign affairs, which inevitably bulk large, are discussed with an understanding of fundamental issues which help to point a clear path through the tangle of eighteenth-century diplomacy.

Above all, there is a clear recognition of the significance of colonial development. The period was a crucial one in imperial affairs, and oversea interests were fundamental both for England's domestic development and in the issues of foreign policy. Professor Williams shows a lively appreciation of this aspect of his subject. He makes evident the nature of the exploitation, not merely of the American colonies who gained something in return, but also of Ireland whose sufferings were almost without any compensating benefit. His narrative shows clearly that if the earlier part of this period laid the foundations for the triumphs of Pitt, it planted at the same time the seeds of dissension which led to the disruption of the empire.

Sir John Marriott's study of colonial development, which covers the years from the age of exploration to the Statute of Westminster, is distinctly less critical in its approach. Without denying the occasional flaws in imperial policy, he prefers to minimize them where possible, and to dwell rather on the more inspiring aspects of imperial development. In consequence his book is at times less balanced in presentation than might be desired—for example, in his rather selective discussion of the origins of the Boer War. One could wish, too, a fuller appreciation of the colonial policy of the Restoration, and a clearer understanding of such things as the Boston tea party or the position of the Supreme Court of Canada. None the less, this is in many respects a useful survey, particularly in its attention to constitutional developments, not merely in imperial relations but within the Dominions themselves. It is true that Sir John tends to view certain of these developments with considerable alarm. As an old imperial federationist he cannot but regret the recent extensions of autonomy, and particularly the growing independence of the Dominions in foreign policy; and the appointment of Governors-General solely on Dominion advice seems to him "a change which may have mischievous consequences in the future." In such matters his interpretation will seem to many readers misguided if not actually misleading. He does, however, survey the chief stages in imperial development, and particularly in the development of the Commonwealth; and in that respect he offers a useful brief summary of this important theme.

EDGAR MCINNIS

The University of Toronto.

*The Spirit of French Canada: A Study of the Literature.* By IAN FORBES FRASER.  
New York: Columbia University Press. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1939.  
Pp. xii, 219. (\$2.75)

THIS book admirably fulfils its purpose, which is to "illustrate the lines of thought followed by French Canadians who were concerned about the problems of national unity." The author has collected specimen passages from the literature of French Canada since 1850, and has arranged them round the five themes which he considers of greatest importance in the national tradition—the history of the race,



the attitude towards France, the place of Roman Catholicism, the cult of the soil, and the language and folk-lore. Interspersed between the readings are comments on the various writers, their qualities and their influence, and on the position of French Canadians in relation to the rest of Canada. The book is a happy blend of literary criticism and sociological interpretation, and gives an unusually accurate understanding of the main ingredients of the nationalist tradition. Throughout, the commentary is balanced, just, and sympathetic. There is a full bibliography and an index.

Dr. Fraser's survey leads him to make certain general observations that are particularly interesting. One is that since the time of Garneau and Crémazie French-Canadian writers, with few exceptions, have used literature as a weapon rather than as an art. Their purpose has been utilitarian rather than aesthetic. Their writers have propagandized for a better knowledge of Canadian (i.e., French-Canadian) history, for deeper devotion to religion, for the retention of the language, for fidelity to the soil, for the preservation of the old folkways. Their literature is also nostalgic rather than prophetic; it inclines to the past and seeks to find in the glorious epic of the race the strength to fight for racial survival in the present. Dr. Fraser is doubtless aware that the younger generation in French Canada today, while not repudiating the past, is questioning the efficacy of this attitude in the face of the rapid social changes that are taking place. Something forward-looking and positive is required now, for what use is the glorification of the soil when more and more families are moving to the cities, and why look longingly to the past when there is a new form of pioneering, a social pioneering, calling adventurous spirits to mould the future? This new spirit, however, is still largely unrecorded, and is hardly to be expected in such a volume as this. An omission that may be pointed out is the absence of reference to the economic aspect of the nationalist movement. This is becoming increasingly important and has found vigorous expression in such works as Marius Barbeau's *La Mesure de notre taille*. It forms an active part of the spirit of French Canada today, even though its contributions to literature are few and polemic.

Another of Dr. Fraser's observations is that a French-Canadian cultural renaissance, in so far as it may need to draw upon modern French thought and culture, is impeded by the church's strict control over censorship and standards of taste. The influence of modern France can never be strong in Quebec so long as it is suspect on religious grounds. Catholicism and French-Canadian nationalism cease to be allies at this point.

A reader, knowing both major races in Canada, will be struck by the similarities between certain French-Canadian attitudes shown in this book and the attitudes of many English Canadians. Both races contain elements which cling to a past heritage lest they be swallowed up in a present America. One fears to lose its French-Catholic culture, the other its British traditions. Both see potential enemies in Pan-Canadian nationalism, which, in creating a new fusion, might weaken the hold of the past. Each has a spiritual home abroad, in Rome or in London. Each eyes the other with a certain suspicion, wondering how much it dare concede toward the attainment of Canadian national unity. This book is evidence that the French Canadians have expressed their nationalist feelings in a more intense and personal manner than have the English Canadians.

F. R. SCOTT

McGill University.

*A History of Science in Canada.* Edited by H. M. TORY. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 152. (\$2.50)

THIS book is a symposium based on nine papers presented at the Ottawa meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1938. The editor expresses the hope that it will serve "as a first instalment of the history of the scientific movement in our beloved country." It is a very good instalment, so good that it inevitably suggests the desirability of further volumes to take up the tale where by the nature of the case it leaves off. A few typographical errors do little to mar the reading.

The contributions, which naturally vary in style and treatment according to the authors' points of view, cannot with justice be considered individually here; collectively they give a good outline of the growth of science in Canada.

There were scientists in Canada from the earliest days of the white man, but science hardly goes back further than the geological work of the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the more elaborate technical sciences did not take shape till the fifties; then they developed under the direction of men trained in Europe. There was, of course, some lag, which gradually disappeared while Canada was developing distinctive contributions of her own.

A mass of achievement beyond ordinary realization must be laid to the credit of Canadian scientists. Some of the positive advances can fairly be attributed to the stimulus of special local conditions, as in geology, and, more recently, in some aspects of biology, or in a different way in astronomy, which served to bind a vast extent of territory in bonds of accurate time. It is none the less true that many contributions have been made in fields already well opened in the older laboratories of Europe.

It is interesting to discover how much history is involved in the great business of exploring four million square miles of country with but few people to do it. Economic applications were naturally emphasized, though not to the exclusion of more theoretical aspects; it is, however, remarked by several authors, and implied by others, that Canada has not always used her scientists as fully as she might have done to her own advantage. In this connection there is an inconsistency between the assessment of administrative use of scientists on page 5 and that on page 121; the former suggests that an almost universal use has been made of scientific knowledge in government departments, the latter implies a nearly contrary view: both cannot be wholly right. One book, at least, that should follow this at no long interval is a study of the means of ensuring continuous co-ordination between the administration of natural resources and the constantly enlarging mass of scientific knowledge concerning them.

Sarton has written "we shall be true humanists only to the extent of our success in combining the historical and the scientific spirit." Canada, largely in debt to science for her material development, may be grateful to those who have made possible this contribution to her humanism.

A. F. COVENTRY

The University of Toronto.

*A Gateway of Empire.* By C. M. MACINNES. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1939. Pp. 456. (15s.)

IN this volume Mr. MacInnes has continued his studies in the history of Bristol, particularly since the discovery of the new world. The records of the Society of Merchant Venturers, whose charter dates 1552, reflect the diverse interests of

Bristol and he has drawn heavily on them. The relations of the city with Newfoundland, Canada, New England, the West Indies, Africa, India, and the Antipodes are outlined and illustrated by extracts from this and other sources. Of special interest to North America are the accounts of Guy's attempts at settlement in Newfoundland, of Gorges's Company in New England, and of Captain Thomas James's expedition to the bay which bears his name. Bristol co-operated with London in the attempt to settle Newfoundland in the face of opposition from the outports but protested against London's control of the slave trade through the Royal African Company. Bristol participated in the emigration of indentured servants and criminals and became active in the slave trade. As Liverpool took the lead in the slave trade, Bristol became more directly concerned with the sugar plantations of the West Indies. Here she opposed any step to improve the position of Ireland in the navigation system. Her interests were immediately involved in the American Revolution and they were forcibly represented by Burke and Champion. After the revolution Bristol favoured trade between Newfoundland and New England for supplies for her fishermen just as she favoured trade between the United States and the West Indies for supplies for her sugar plantations in spite of the opposition of Nova Scotia. Again those concerned in the Newfoundland trade joined hands with those opposed to the abolition of slavery as affecting the market for fish in the West Indies. The Pinney Papers have been used with effect in the discussion of West Indian trade. With the abolition of slavery and the end of the navigation system, Bristol lost her advantage. The inadequacy of port facilities contributed to the decline. Her merchants turned to the purchase of ships, timber, grain, and tobacco from Canada. Bristol would not join London in opposing the appointment of Lord Sydenham as Governor-General in Canada because of his connection with the Baltic trade. She supported proposals for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

The book provides much more than is indicated above on the relations of Bristol to various parts of the Empire, all of which is made accessible by an extensive index. Mr. MacInnes's enthusiasms with regard to the Empire do not add to the value of his book, but we can forgive much because of his contribution to an understanding of the factors which account for the development of England's imperial strength. The importance of geographic circumstances, the division of economic interests within the country, the inevitability of freedom of trade, and other points of importance are illuminated through the study of a single port.

H. A. INNIS

The University of Toronto.

*A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715): With Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne.* Vol. III. By WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN and CHLOE SENER MORGAN. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University. 1939. Pp. viii, 705.

THIS massive volume is part of an ambitious work begun by Professor Morgan many years ago. The first volume, which appeared in 1934 as an Indiana University study, listed the "pamphlets and memoirs" published between 1700 and 1707. The second volume (1937) carried on the same sources to 1716. The present volume contains source-material for the chosen period published after 1716. This is classified as correspondence, autobiographies, diaries, and journals; periodicals including newspapers and annuals from 1700 to 1715; plays and other dramatic works; and finally a list of secondary works dealing with the period. The fourth and final

volume is to include a list of unpublished manuscripts, and a general index to the whole.

The work contains abundant evidence of the widest research, and of the most careful and laborious editing. The hundred pages and more in this volume devoted to periodicals in this first age of their blossoming will obviously be of the greatest value to students; and the large section on the drama will have a similar utility. The concluding section on secondary materials is also of importance, though the comments on particular volumes are not always satisfactory. The general arrangement of the bibliography is chronological for "pamphlets and memoirs," but also partly by the subjects mentioned above. In this arrangement there is the obvious difficulty of placing, and of finding, certain classes of sources, e.g. one does not know where to look for such important official papers as the *Calendar of State Papers* (ed. Bateson). And there are no special sections for Scotland or Ireland, the British Empire, local history, religion, or science. But no system of classification would meet every need or criticism, and the work will stand as a monumental achievement which few would have the courage to undertake, or the knowledge and perseverance to carry through.

R. FLENLEY

The University of Toronto.

*Zones of International Friction: North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. IV.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. xlii, 312, xlv. (\$5.00)

It is Professor Gipson's plan to describe the British Empire in its social, economic, and political aspects, and in all its geographical areas, as it existed during the two or three decades before the American Revolution. The work is to comprise "some twelve" volumes. Of these the first three<sup>1</sup> form a triptych, presenting a view of British society as it conducted itself at home and abroad in the middle of the century. Volumes IV and V are now to comprise a diptych, portraying "those dynamic forces that were operating in North America and elsewhere to press back the frontiers of the Empire and . . . to bring it to grips with its great rival, the French Empire." The method, so far, is to beat the bounds of the continental colonies. Starting at the Georgia-Florida frontier, volume IV carries us to the Ohio valley and to the year 1754.

The Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws engage our attention in its early pages. We are told of their domestic economy, their external trade, and chiefly of their diplomatic relations with each other and with their French, English, and Spanish neighbours. Then we are carried to the Mississippi and given a description of the French settlements there; thence we move up to the Illinois—"The French New World Granary"—and finally into the Ohio, where we linger through four chapters. It is a fertile area this last, heavily sown with documents and bearing a rich harvest of information. But the country is without elevation, and the traveller has difficulty in finding his way. The Ohio was, of course, the "zone of international friction" where smoke first burst into flame; that is doubtless the excuse for the concentration of detail at this point. But one has a feeling that the real reason for it is that the author knows too much about the Ohio valley. His knowledge of source-material everywhere is great; generally he masters that material. Here his knowledge is greatest and the material masters him. Or

<sup>1</sup>Reviewed in CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVIII, 1937, 330-1.

so it now appears. But this volume is to have a companion piece. Volume V will contain a description of conditions and events in the St. Lawrence region and in the East and West Indies, and will present the diplomatic background of the Seven Years' War. Therein Mr. Gipson may show us the larger view and, as he did in his earlier volumes, rouse our gratitude as much by the freshness of his approach and the originality of his judgments as by the breadth of his knowledge.

This book has a detailed table of contents (27 pages), is indexed, and is furnished with a dozen contemporaneous maps. The manuscript sources used are too numerous and scattered to be described in this review. It seems to the reviewer that those from French collections are not clearly and consistently described in foot-notes. Page references to the Shelburne Papers do not check with the originals, but the passages are accurately quoted. References to printed documents and secondary works proved accurate wherever checked. In citing secondary works, however, Mr. Gipson does not follow standard practice, nor any consistent practice of his own. These may seem small defects to complain of in a work of this scope, but as there is no bibliography, they are certain to cause practical inconvenience. The author has, however, promised us "a volume devoted exclusively to a critical examination of the more important sources" for the whole subject. There are several reasons why this should, if possible, include secondary works.

S. MORLEY SCOTT

The University of Michigan.

*Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri.* Edited by ANNIE HELOISE ABEL. Translated from the French by ROSE ABEL WRIGHT.

Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 272. (\$3.50) The publication of this little-known fur trader's journal adds one more to the long list of French-Canadian contributions to the exploration of this continent. Pierre-Antoine Tabeau was born in 1755 at Lachine of a family closely connected with the fur trade. The urge to wander was too strong in his family or in the air of Lachine, for he left the seminary at Quebec to become a fur trader. Like so many of his kind he drifted from the employ of the North West Company into the Illinois country and into citizenship in the new country to the south. Becoming associated with Régis Loisel and other traders interested in the Upper Missouri country, then under Spanish control, he spent several years in that region, becoming closely acquainted with the Arikara and other local Indians, and being there when the Lewis and Clark expedition penetrated that area. Tabeau's story was designed as a supplement to Loisel's report to the Spanish authorities, but Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States rendered the report useless to Spain. After a curious career, the tracing of which is an example of the kind of detective work that historians are sometimes privileged to do, this document came to light in the files of the United States Department of War.

Tabeau was primarily concerned in his journal with a description of the Missouri country, its animals, birds, fish, fruits, and the Indians amongst whom he lived. The first value of his book is, then, to the naturalist and the anthropologist. But it does throw some light on the obscure relations of Spaniard, Frenchman, Britisher, and American in this area in the first years of the nineteenth century. Of its hints Professor Abel makes the most, as the long, heavily-documented introduction and appendices show. These are the work of a careful scholar, and it is in these with their long foot-notes that the historian of the period will find the most interest.

The University of Oklahoma Press is to be complimented upon the technical excellence of the book.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto,

*John Ledyard: An American Marco Polo.* By KENNETH MUNFORD. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort. 1939. Pp. 311.

THIS is the first book-length biography of Ledyard which has appeared since the standard *Life* by Jared Sparks was published in 1828. Why he has been neglected for so long it is difficult to understand, for Ledyard's career was filled with action and adventure. He seems to have had the faculty of attracting the attention of great men. He persuaded Captain Cook to enrol him as a corporal of marines in the *Resolution*, and travelled with the great navigator on his third voyage. Ledyard was fascinated by the commercial possibilities of the North-west Coast and its sea-otter trade, and spent the rest of his life trying to persuade governments, merchants, and ship-owners to send him thither with an expedition. In Europe he met Thomas Jefferson—who described him as “a man of genius, of some science, and of fearless courage and enterprise”—and his enthusiasm undoubtedly increased Jefferson's own interest in the West. In 1787, in desperation, Ledyard set out to cross Siberia, in the hope that he might be able to find a vessel which would carry him from Kamchatka to Nootka Sound. He struggled as far east as Yakutsk only to be turned back by the authorities. Finally Sir Joseph Banks took an interest in him, and when Ledyard died in Cairo in 1789 he was setting out to explore the sources of the Niger for the African Association.

As a popular account of the man and his adventures this book has much to commend it, and it is only just to say that the volume was obviously intended to be little more than that. To the historian it is much less satisfactory. It is enlivened with many imaginary conversations, in which Cook, Vancouver, Jefferson, and others take part, and it is often impossible for the reader to distinguish with any certainty between fact and fancy. The text draws heavily upon the *Life* by Sparks, but is in most ways a very unsatisfactory substitute for the latter. On the other hand, the book will undoubtedly make Ledyard and his adventures known to a public which rarely sees and would certainly never read Sparks.

The book is well produced. An attractive map showing Ledyard's travels is used as an end paper. Collectors may care to note that the firm of Binfords & Mort is the successor to the Metropolitan Press.

W. KAYE LAMB

Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

*Acadia University, 1838-1938.* By RONALD STEWART LONGLEY. Wolfville, N.S. [Kentville, N.S.: Kentville Publishing Co.] 1939. Pp. 187.

IN this book, published to commemorate the centennial held at Wolfville, N.S., in August, 1938, of the founding of Acadia University, Professor Longley outlines the reasons for its origin, the forces that have made for its development, and the several contributions of the leaders who have moulded its destinies.

The background from which Acadia University came into being was a cultural group chiefly in western and central Nova Scotia deriving from New England. The names of its graduates, listed by years in an appendix, reveal the continued racial affinities. The story of the rise and growth of Acadia is like that of other denominational colleges in the Dominion. Here, the aim of securing a ministry

and a selected laity educated in a strong and distinctive religious atmosphere, was successively instilled into the Baptist people by earnest and self-sacrificing preachers. Horton Academy and later Acadia College were the response to their efforts. It is doubtful, however, whether Acadia would have existed in its present form, had the Baptists been fairly treated when the non-sectarian Dalhousie University was opened at Halifax in 1838. Michael Wallace, Treasurer of the province, a violent Kirk politician, refused to support the Rev. E. A. Crawley, who was the best educated and most outstanding Baptist minister in the province, for an appointment to a chair in the new institution. As a result, a group of influential Baptists secured from the Legislature, not without difficulty, a charter for a college. They wished to call it Queen's College, but, on refusal by the Colonial Office to allow them the use of the name, they chose the really better title, Acadia. Through long and trying years the Baptist people of the Maritime Provinces built up the university, beautifully situated with its associated institutions on the hillside at Wolfville, where in the early summer in blossom time graduates and members of the denomination gather in demonstrations of loyalty. The outcome of their indefatigable efforts financially is seen in the large gifts raised during the past generation both at home and in the United States; the Rockefellers, father and son, and the Carnegie Corporation have been especially liberal.

Many graduates have gone for further study to the United States, and, first at Harvard and later at Yale, they have made a high reputation for Acadia. No university in Canada has had a larger proportion of its graduates domiciled in the United States. But the greatest contribution which the college has made to justify the efforts of its supporters, is in the supply of teachers for the schools of the Maritime Provinces, and in the academic education of many who have gone into the professions, and of some well-known leaders in the public life of the Dominion. If Professor Longley had given a summary of the present numbers and distribution of the staff and students by faculties, and of the endowment, buildings, and equipment, he would have left the reader with a more impressive idea of what has been accomplished in a century of unwearied faith and energy.

This narrative is an important addition to the material which is accumulating for a historian to present before long a comprehensive picture of the many-sided cultural development of Nova Scotia.

ROBT. A. FALCONER

Toronto.

*The Old Log School and Huron Old Boys in Pioneer Days.* By GAVIN HAMILTON GREEN. Goderich, Ont.: Signal-Star Press. 1939. Pp. 217. (\$2.00)

PART history, part autobiography, both making much of reminiscence, in part a collection of the most curious information, this book is in a class quite by itself. The tale is lightened by a shrewd common sense and a play of humour. Born in the township of Colborne nearly eighty years ago, the author is able to tell much of early education in North Huron, "when f-a-t-h-e-r spelt father and not 'fother,' when girls and boys went barefoot to school; when girls dressed in wincey and print in summer, and homespun dresses, ornamented with a few rows of cloth braid, in winter; boys wore duck trousers and factory-cotton shirts in summer and a suit of homespun full cloth in winter; shoes with copper toes or long boots with red tops; dinners mostly bread and treacle, with butter on special days." Gum was home-made, and at school passed from mouth to mouth which was safe enough for the microbe had not then been born. In animated nature the smallest being and the most common in school was the louse.



It would appear that no one in North Huron was better equipped to write of early schools than was Gavin Hamilton Green. He attended seven of them and was blessed with experience of fourteen teachers. Of the seven his affections centred on S.S. No. 5, Colborne. The first school building here cost £28 and the first teacher was paid £60 for a year's service. The seven schools had but one thing in common—no homework.

When through with the schools Mr. Green reveals a rich store of miscellaneous memories—how his mother on taking butter to market carried her shoes and did not put them on until the city gates were reached; how two girls left to care for him when he was two years old decided he needed a bath and gave him one that lasted six hours; how the tin milk pan was preceded by a wooden one; how witchery stalked the land; how the singing of a paraphrase drove two ladies out of the church every Sunday morning; how the dark day came upon Goderich, September 5, 1881.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

Welland, Ontario.

*With a Glance Backward.* By E. A. HOWES. Drawings by I. E. LAUGHLIN. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 197. (\$1.50)

THIS book of informal reminiscences, by Dean Howes of the College of Agriculture at the University of Alberta, is concerned with boyhood days in an eastern Ontario agricultural community during the eighties of the last century. It is by all odds the most interesting book of its kind that this reviewer has encountered in a long time. Dean Howes, it is true, might have made things easier for the student of "social history" by giving more specific details of time and place; he might have supplied the setting which the reader is obliged to construct for himself from stray hints which are dropped throughout the book. But if the background is vague and shadowy—as it was, no doubt, to the boy whose experiences are described—the foreground is extraordinarily clear and vivid. Dean Howes writes of the serious pursuits and diversions of the immediate neighbourhood of his boyhood—of the products, implements, and vehicles of the farm, of the books, songs, and pastimes of the people. He has not only an extraordinary memory for detail, but also an ability to recapture the general character of a community. The book is simple and unpretentious; but it is probably worth more than many a serious and erudite treatise. It has a natural and unforced charm. Dean Howes has a light and deft touch; he writes with humour and without any obtrusive evidence of nostalgic sentimentality; and his book is a small but valuable tribute to the memory of the old rural communities of eastern Canada.

D. G. CREIGHTON

The University of Toronto.

*The Settlement of Negroes in Kent County, Ontario, and a Study of the Mental Capacity of Their Descendants.* By H. A. TANSER. A condensation of a thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy in the University of Toronto. Chatham, Ont.: The author, Superintendent of Schools. 1939. Pp. 187. (\$2.50)

*The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937.* By IRA DE A. REID. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 261. (\$3.50)

IN the decade preceding the American Civil War the County of Kent, in Western Ontario, had a large Negro population, resident chiefly in the town of Chatham

and in the two Negro colonies known as Buxton and Dawn. The presence of these people, the majority of whom were runaway slaves from the South, offered opportunity for philanthropy, and schools and churches were established among them. During the course of the Civil War the Lincoln administration commissioned Dr. Samuel G. Howe to visit these and other Negro communities in what is now Western Ontario, and his report shows that he was favourably impressed by the progress which the black people were making under conditions of freedom. Descendants of the Negroes who found homes and security in Kent County at that time are still numerous and Dr. Tanser's volume, a condensation of a pedagogical thesis submitted to the University of Toronto, is chiefly a study of the mental capacity of Negro children attending one large public school in the city of Chatham and six smaller rural schools throughout the county. He has, however, in the first forty pages given some account of the origins of the Negro settlements and of the early schools which were set up among them.

Dr. Reid's volume deals with a much larger racial question. In the period 1899-1937 the United States added to its population more than 100,000 Negroes, mainly from the British West Indies. These people came chiefly to New York City, New England, and Florida. Dr. Reid has made a sociological study of these people who, differing in colour from the majority, differ also in background and culture from people of like colour in the United States. Canada received a trickle of this West Indian migration and definite West Indian groups exist in a few eastern cities. Dr. Reid makes some incidental references to the West Indians in Canada. The Secretary of the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University is quoted (p. 111), as suggesting that West Indian students think there is discrimination against them because the period of study is longer than at Scottish universities, to which many of them go. This, he explains, is a difference affecting all students alike. Of late, Negro immigration from the British crown colonies of the Caribbean to Canada is definitely not encouraged.

FRED LONDON

The University of Western Ontario.

*The Law Marches West.* By CECIL E. DENNY. Edited and arranged by W. B. CAMERON. Foreword by A. C. RUTHERFORD. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1939. Pp. xvi, 319. (\$3.00)

THE title, *The Law Marches West*, suggests both more and less than will be found in the volume—more, because this is not a broad study of a movement; and less because Mr. Cecil Denny took part in the movement in its early stage and wrote as an eye-witness and participant, with keen perception, yet modestly and soberly.

The Chancellor of the University of Alberta, Mr. A. C. Rutherford, sketches the author's life in the foreword. Born in Hampshire, England, Cecil Denny joined the North West Mounted Police in February, 1874, as the force was being organized in Toronto. In 1882 he was "Indian Agent over the whole Treaty," no. 7. Later he became a rancher and what not, and finally archivist of the province in 1922, the year in which he succeeded his half-brother to the baronetcy.

The well-known story of the organization of the North West Mounted Police and its spectacular march westward is told over again, yet with intimate observations which keep the account fresh. An interesting picture is sketched of life at Fort Macleod, and at Fort Calgary; also of the dealings of the "Mounties" with the Blackfoot tribes at the framing of the treaty (no. 7) of 1877 and likewise of their management of Sitting Bull. When the author tells of his own part in battling with

the blizzards and with rivers in flood at the risk of his life, in dealing with Indians and whisky-traders, and in helping the law to march westward, it is with a commendable simplicity. But he is interested in much more, in what is happening in the country. He tells when the first ladies, officers' wives, came to Fort Macleod; when domestic cattle were brought into Alberta and by whom; when range cattle. He introduces the reader to I. G. Baker & Co., T. C. Powers & Co., and by their names, and often by their nicknames, others whose shops about the forts began what are now important cities. On his first journey to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton and the police station Fort Saskatchewan, he describes the country and the places.

The chapters in the latter half of the book deal more with episodes: e.g., the Rebellion of 1885; the arrival of the Mormons; the "short-cut" to the Klondyke. Where Mr. Denny has thought it necessary to fill in the gaps between the episodes with chapters on the general political history of the country his treatment is of the slightest and adds nothing to our knowledge.

It is difficult to gauge the work of Mr. Cameron as editor. He edited the manuscript of H. J. Moberley under the title *When Fur Was King* faithfully and intelligently. It is to be presumed that he has been equally successful with Sir Cecil Denny's reminiscences.

"Roche Perce" (p. 24) should be Roche Percée; and "Father Lestance" (p. 29) should be Lestanc.

ARTHUR S. MORTON

The University of Saskatchewan.

*The Last Buffalo Hunter.* By MARY WEEKES. As told to her by NORBERT WELSH. New York, Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1939. Pp. 304. (\$2.50)

MRS. WEEKES deserves the warmest praise for her work—not always easy, we gather—in securing and preserving the first-hand "personal" evidence which is contained in this book. The old hunter who supplied it belongs to a rapidly-vanishing generation. She is to be congratulated also for realizing the need of a definite method in approaching such personalities as the old hunter; the constant necessity of a sifting process in the recorder's own mind, and of a gentle discipline which must as far as is possible, be kept secret from the narrator. It cannot be expected that such men should be self-critical; and as a class they are commonly very impatient, not to say contemptuous, of any suggestion that *their* pronouncements could possibly require checking with those of anyone else.

Along with the fascinating main threads of this life-story, we get some vivid sidelights on well-known historical personages. Where the academic historian can only laboriously balance the grave estimates of learned rival authorities with perhaps only a suspicion as to the real characteristics of an individual, a personal associate or an actual resident in the same environment defines him with instant conviction in one short sentence. An amusing instance of this (particularly interesting at the moment to the reviewer) occurs on pages 114-17.

There is only one (possible) slip that we have seen. The old hunter apparently has Colonel Cody, "Buffalo Bill," coming north, presumably into his own locality along the Qu'Appelle, to hunt buffalo in the winter of 1865-6. If this is not intended to date 1865, its unqualified insertion in the story during that era certainly conveys that impression. In 1865 Cody had not become "Buffalo Bill"; he had not even reached Kansas, to which he came in 1867. As a matter of historical fact, the final

disappearance of the buffalo in Canada (in any material numbers) dates from about 1880-1,—some three years earlier than the extermination of the United States "northern herd." In 1865-7, buffalo had already become somewhat uncertain along the Qu'Appelle, as we learn from Cowie, Thompson-Seton, John McDougall, and others. While Welsh is perfectly right concerning the ratios of destruction as between Indians and American hide-hunters, the great rush of 1867-74 was toward Kansas. An American hunter or sportsman would have had to cross hundreds of miles of buffalo country, varying from "fairly numerous" to "swarming," in order to find few or none on the Qu'Appelle. Apparently Homer nods here. This is a small point; but it might lead some distant critic to doubt the authenticity of the rest—quite needlessly in our view. The identity of chance acquaintances often becomes confused in the minds of old people. The reviewer recently noted the reported recollection of an old lady, then 98 years of age (i.e., born 1836) "in whose childhood home the great John Wesley was a frequent visitor." John Wesley died in 1791.

Mrs. Weekes's work deserves a second edition; and a short note by her would be of value. The book is carefully and attractively printed, and deserves to be not merely "prized," but *read*.

F. G. ROE

Edmonton.

*The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography.* By HENRY F. PRINGLE. 2 vols. New York, Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart. 1939. Pp. xii, 555; ix, 556-1106. (\$7.50)

FROM the half-million items in the Taft Papers Mr. Pringle has distilled the first rounded study of a man whose ambition was the United States Supreme Court, but who first travelled a rocky detour via administration into politics through the agency of Theodore Roosevelt and the importunities of an ambitious wife. Appointment as a United States Circuit Judge (1892) advanced Taft toward his goal. In 1900 appointment as head of the Philippine Commission set his feet on an administrative road which led to politics and the White House. Four years later Roosevelt made him Secretary of War, where he became general handyman and peripatetic proconsul for his idol.

Thrice he refused offers of the Supreme Court. His obligations to the Filipinos were unfulfilled, and Mrs. Taft had political ambitions; by 1906 he was resigned to being President. Meantime he had been active in the Philippines, in Cuba, and in Panama. He was an unhappy President. Ineptitude for politics, conflict among subordinates, failure of major objectives, and the growing rift in the party and with Roosevelt (in which Taft was more sinned against than sinning) made the presidency a nightmare gladly exchanged for a Yale professorship. From this he was rescued by appointment to the Chief Justiceship, and from 1921 until 1930 he did the work he had always wanted, guiding the court along a conservative path through the mazes of post-war adjudication.

Principally interesting to Canadian readers will be the account of the 1911 reciprocity episode. This makes clear the connection between reciprocity and the fight for free newsprint, shows how negotiations developed out of the maximum and minimum provisions of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and indicates how Taft and others hurt their cause by unwise utterances at crucial moments; it does not show the relation of the drive for reciprocity to the congressional election of 1910, how protected interests used the farmer as a front for their opposition to reciprocity, or the

connection between reciprocity and the rising schism in Republican ranks which was leading to the split of 1912. The account of the Canadian battle is conventional.

The author has ably digested a very large mass of material, but the very bulk of the available sources presented difficulties which have left their mark on the book. It points the way, however, for later specialized studies in the period which will doubtless be built on even broader foundations; some of these studies may depict less favourably the amiable gentleman who became in his old age "le petit juge" to the habitants of Murray Bay.

L. ETHAN ELLIS

Rutgers University.

*Canada's Unemployment Problem.* Edited by L. RICHTER. With a foreword by Hon. NORMAN McL. ROGERS. (Studies of the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1939. Pp. xvi, 414. (\$2.50)

DISCUSSION of Canada's unemployment problem has long been marred by controversy and lack of significant information. To provide essential data, to analyse the issues involved, and to appraise critically the effectiveness of Canada's methods of relief is the task which this comprehensive book, the first of its type and scope to appear, sets for itself.

The book edited by Dr. Richter of the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University consists of studies made by different experts on the main phases of the unemployment problem in Canada. Its scope is indicated by the following studies: "Nature and Extent of Unemployment in Canada" by S. A. Saunders; "Unemployment Aid (Direct Relief)" by Dorothy King; "Unemployed Youth" by H. A. Weir; "Relief and Other Social Services for Transients" by H. M. Cassidy; "Prairie Relief and Rehabilitation" by W. L. Jacobson; "Relief Land Settlement" by W. M. Jones; "Public Works as a Relief Measure" by A. MacNamara; "The Canadian Unemployment Problem in the Light of Foreign Experience" by L. Richter; "What of the Future?" by Charlotte Whitton.

Essentially a comprehensive study of the social aspects of the unemployment problem, the book makes comparatively little attempt either to analyse the fundamental causes of Canadian unemployment or to suggest new policies for its relief. Significant economic relationships are discussed briefly, particularly in the study by Dr. Saunders on the "Nature and Extent of Unemployment in Canada," in which such topics as "Unemployment and Prices," "Unemployment as related to Export Trade, Regionalism and Rigidities," among others receive consideration. Miss Whitton in her study "What of the Future?" emphasizes the need for greater delineation of responsibility as between the authorities of the Dominion, provincial, and municipal governments and suggests administrative machinery to control unemployment relief activities. Dr. Richter's study, "The Canadian Unemployment Problem in the Light of Foreign Experience" presents interesting and valuable material on foreign methods, and draws from the data pertinent conclusions to apply to the Canadian problem.

This book must be regarded as making an important contribution to the literature on Canadian unemployment. The facts are well selected, interestingly presented, and the analyses may well stimulate further research into various aspects of the problem. In broadening the basis of an understanding of the complexities

of the subject, this book goes far towards provoking informed public discussion and constructive governmental activity.

A. M. CHIPMAN

Pickering College.

*Canada, Europe, and Hitler.* By WATSON KIRKCONNELL. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 213. (\$1.50)

THE Dominion of Canada entered the war last September with a population which included between two and three million European Canadians. Many of them were recent arrivals in this country. In proportion to the population there were more Germans in Canada than in Poland. Ukrainians—deeply affected by the Russo-German division of Poland in September—constituted the fourth largest national group. There were about 45,000 Finns in Canada, and a considerable number of Poles, Italians, and other nationalities, either in the thick of the present conflagration or on the edge of it. The attitude of the European Canadians towards the war is accordingly of some moment to Canada. It must be taken into account in any estimate of the unity of Canadian war sentiment, or of the contribution which Canada is likely to make to the Allied cause. In *Canada, Europe and Hitler* Professor Watson Kirkconnell examines a cross-section of European-Canadian sentiment towards the issues involved in the present war. His survey covers the months immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, and the first month of actual warfare.

*Canada, Europe and Hitler* is really two books within one cover. The first hundred pages ("Europe Faces Hitler") is a succinct recapitulation of European national politics as they bear upon the present struggle, together with a summary of the events leading up to the first explosion. There is by now a large literature on this theme, but the reviewer has examined nothing which more neatly sums up the essentials. Less familiar than other themes, the analysis of the Ukrainian question (pp. 74-80) throws light on what has long been a complex and confusing aspect of European politics.

The second half of the book is devoted to a more highly specialized field and will make a useful contribution to a knowledge of the Canadian mosaic. Mr. Kirkconnell's wide acquaintance with the languages and literatures of recent immigrant peoples, coupled with extensive recent travels in Europe, is employed to good account in his survey of the sentiments of the main European-Canadian groups. An appraisal of editorial comment of the foreign-language press in Canada enables the author to reassure the apprehensive as to the essential unity and loyalty of European Canadians, even of those who on theoretical grounds might have been suspected to be quite otherwise minded. Mr. Kirkconnell is careful to point out the limitations of this technique of appraisal. Editors as a class are likely to appreciate the threat of Hitlerism more profoundly than the mass of their readers, and editors are likely to be more loyal and discreet in print than they may be in private conversation. The author's judgment upon the significance of the Quebec election last October hardly does justice to the complexities and contradictions of that campaign. Aside from such minor qualifications one can express only keen appreciation and warm praise for this fluent and compact survey of Canadian war attitudes.

WILFRID EGGLESTON

Ottawa.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

CORBETT, P. E. *The status of the British Commonwealth in international law* (University of Toronto law journal, III (2), Lent term, 1940, 348-59). Concludes that there is no longer a legal entity from the international point of view, and that the term "empire" or "commonwealth" applied to all the territories of the crown is a misnomer.

FRASER, C. F. *Judicial committee of the Privy Council; its development and function* (Alberta law quarterly, III (4), April, 1939, 101-19). Concludes that, for Canada at least, the merits of appeal to the Judicial Committee outweigh the flaws.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, XXI (4), Nov., 1939, 251-64). Contains notes on the exercise of the royal powers in Canada, and upon the legal procedure of Canada's entrance into the war.

MCWILLIAMS, R. F. *The Privy Council and the constitution* (Canadian bar review, XVII (8), Oct., 1939, 579-82). Contends that in face of the record the argument that the Privy Council is responsible for whittling down the powers of the Dominion government is wholly without justification.

*Royal addresses: Delivered by Their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, during their sojourn in Canada, May 17 to June 15, 1939.* Toronto: Thorn Press. 1939. Pp. 24.

SIEGFRIED, ANDRÉ. *What the British Empire means to western civilization.* Trans. by GEORGE M. WRONG. (Oxford pamphlets on world affairs no. C4.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. 28. (10c.)

*Visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen to Canada: Itinerary, May-June, 1939.* Ottawa: Canadian National Railways; Canadian Pacific Railway. Pp. 195.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BAILEY, THOMAS A. *A diplomatic history of the American people.* (Crofts American history series.) New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. Pp. xxvi, 806. To be reviewed later.

Canada, Department of National Defence. *Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1939.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 118. (25c.)

COREY, ALBERT B., TROTTER, REGINALD G., and McLAREN, WALTER W. (eds.). *Conference on Canadian-American affairs. Held at the St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, June 19-22, 1939. Under the joint auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the St. Lawrence University, Queen's University.* Boston, New York, Montreal, London: Ginn and Co. 1939. Pp. x, 250. To be reviewed later.

CRAWFORD, HORACE DONALD. *Should Canada join Pan America?* (North American review, CCXLVIII (2), winter, 1939-40, 219-33). Plausible but hardly convincing argument.



FERGUSON, GEORGE V. *The Prairie Provinces and Canadian foreign policy* (Foreign affairs, XVIII (1), Oct., 1939, 70-9). Draws the relation between the western Canadian outlook on international affairs and the farmers' need for an open world market for wheat.

GRIESBACH, W. A., and LOWER, A. R. M. *Canadian defence—coastal or otherwise?* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National forum). 1939. Pp. 14 (mimeo.). 10c. Two talks given on the nature of Canada's defence preparations over the national network of the CBC on April 2, 1939.

LAING, LIONEL H. *Does the Monroe doctrine cover Canada?* (American journal of international law, XXXII (4), Oct., 1938, 793-6). Discusses the implications of President Roosevelt's speech at Kingston in August, 1938.

SANDWELL, BERNARD K. *Canada speaking* (Atlantic monthly, CLXIV (6), Dec., 1939, 828-30). A Canadian makes answer to those Americans who would make Canada a protectorate of the United States.

### III. CANADA AND THE WAR

AVISON, T. L. *The Canadian Foreign Exchange Control Board* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (1), Feb., 1940, 56-60).

BALDWIN, JOHN R. *Parliament and liberty* (Saturday night, Jan. 20, 1940, 3). Suggests a parliamentary committee to review censorship and defence regulations.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Canada and the war* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (4), winter, 1939-40, 385-90). Considers opinions and attitudes.

*Canada's fighting forces.* Parts I and II: *In the air and The new army.* By F. EDWARDS. Part III: *"Truth, duty, valor,"* by JOHN BASSETT, Jr. (Maclean's magazine, LIII (1, 2, 3), Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 1, 1940). A series of articles outlining the training given to three branches of Canada's fighting forces, the air force, the new army, and the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario.

*Canada's war program and economic conditions at the close of 1939* (Canada, 1940; Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1-9).

Canadian Association for Adult Education. Bull. no. 1: *French Canada and the war* (pp. 4); Bull. no. 2: *War aims and peace plans* (pp. 10); Bull. no. 4: *Canada's war economy and United States neutrality revision* (pp. 7). Prepared from material supplied by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: The Association. 1939. (10c. each)

CHALMERS, FLOYD. *Le Canada et la guerre* (France-Amérique, no. 336, déc., 1939, 322-4). Outlines Canada's undertakings to date in the war in military, economic, and financial fields.

CHAMPRIS, G. de. *La politique canadienne* (France-Amérique, no. 336, déc., 1939, 311-15). Reviews the entry of Canada into the war, and the issues involved in the Quebec election.

COWIE, DONALD. *Why the Dominions are fighting* (Nineteenth century, CXXVI, no. 754, Dec., 1939, 660-7). Believes that Nazi aggression has summarily forced the Dominions to lay all purely national considerations aside.

DEAN, EDGAR PACKARD. *Canada at war* (Foreign affairs, XXVIII (2), Jan., 1940, 292-304). A comprehensive and able review of the Canadian scene from September 10 to December, 1939.

DEXTER, GRANT. *Canada's war program* (Maclean's magazine, LII (21), Nov. 1, 1939, 9, 45-6). Outlines the steps that have been taken to concentrate and focus Canada's economic power.

- GALEA, MAURICE. *L'économie canadienne en guerre* (France-Amérique, no. 336, déc., 1939, 318-21). Compares with satisfaction the condition of the Canadian economy in 1939 with that of 1914.
- GREEN, JAMES FREDERICK. *The British Dominions at war* (Foreign policy report, XV (22), Feb. 1, 1940).  
*Canada pushes war plans* (Foreign policy bulletin, XIX (2), Nov. 3, 1939). Considers that Canada's primary function in the war will be in the economic rather than the military sphere, and that her major wartime problem will be that of public finance.
- HORNING, F. J. *Canada's industrial progress since the Great War of 1914-18* (Industrial Canada, XL (9), Jan., 1940, 52-4, 152).
- HOWE, C. D. *Canada's second front line* (Industrial Canada, XL (9), Jan., 1940, 83-5). Full text of the Minister of Transport's radio address on the work of the War Supply Board, given January 7, 1940.
- KENNEDY, S. J. *Let Canada be a warning* (The nation, CXLIX (18), Oct. 28, 1939, 462-3). Outlines the working of the Defence of Canada Regulations.
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *The British Commonwealth air training plan*. Broadcast Sunday, Dec. 17, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 17.
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Canada and European peace* (Country guide, LIX (2) February, 1940, 7, 30). Not impulsive idealism, nor blood loyalty, but vital self-interest has brought about Canada's participation in the war.
- LAMBERT, R. S. *This freedom: A guide to good citizenship in time of war*. (Food for thought, no. 1, Jan., 1940.) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. 1940. Pp. 16. (10c.) Civil liberty in peace-time, the Defence of Canada Regulations, and interpretation of the wartime measures are some of the topics discussed in this article.
- LOUGHEED, W. F. *War and the Maritime economy* (Public affairs, III (2), Dec., 1939, 53-6).
- MACKENZIE, C. J. *The National Research Council at war!* (Canadian banker, XLVII (2), Jan., 1940, 140-52).
- McLARTY, N. A. *The organization of Canada's war effort. Wartime Prices and Trade Board*. Broadcast Dec. 10, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 13.
- McQUEEN, R. *War-time finance* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXVI (2), Feb., 1940, 104-5). This is the fifth in a series of articles on financing the war.
- The outbreak of war* (Round table, no. 117, Dec., 1939, 177-85). Review of policies and events in Canada preceding her declaration of war on Germany on September 10.
- PEHKONEN, REYNOLD. *Canadian Finns and the war* (Canadian forum, XIX (229), Feb., 1940, 346-7). All Canadian Finns, with the exception of small communist and nazi groups, have united "to support the war of both the Allies and Finland against the dictator countries."
- Rearmament in the Dominions—Canada* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, LXXXIV (534), May, 1939, 258-62). "Canada's resources both in man power and industry, are far higher than those of any other Dominion . . . the help that she could provide might well be a decisive factor in achieving victory."
- ROGERS, NORMAN McL. *Canada's war effort*. Broadcast Dec. 20, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 17.

SCOTT, F. R. *How Canada entered the war* (Canadian forum, XIX (229), Feb., 1940, 344-6). Believes that the phrase "Parliament will decide," when put to the acid test of reality, "appears in its true light as a vote-catching and demagogic slogan."

SHORT, C. M. *Canada's industrial preparedness for war* (Canadian banker, XLVII (2), Jan., 1940, 178-81). Makes comparisons with 1914.

STOKES, WILLIAM. *Canada's war dilemma* (Forum, CII (5), Nov., 1939, 222-5). A survey (written before the Quebec election), of the internal political factors which shaped Canada's attitude to participation in the war.

*War and peace* (Round table, no. 117, Dec., 1939, 5-26). Comparisons between 1914 and 1939 and of the systems of Commonwealth and "Weltreich," lead to determination to win not only the war of today but the "after-war" of tomorrow.

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

BANKS, W. J. *Kings who came to Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LII (9), May 1, 1939, 10-11, 44). Recalls the visits to Canada of the princes who became William IV, Edward VII, George V, and Edward VIII.

*Les Cahiers des Dix*. No. 4. Drummondville, P.Q.: La Parole. 1939. Pp. 305. To be reviewed later.

FLENLEY, R. (ed.). *Essays in Canadian history. Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his eightieth birthday*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1939. Pp. xii, 372. (\$2.50) See p. 68.

MENG, JOHN J. (ed.). *Despatches and instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gérard, 1778-1780: Correspondence of the first French minister to the United States with the Comte de Vergennes*. With an historical introduction and notes. (Historical documents; Institut Français de Washington.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. 966. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.

POWICKE, F. M. (ed.). *Handbook of British chronology*. With the assistance of CHARLES JOHNSON and W. J. HARTE. London: Royal Historical Society. 1939. Pp. xii, 424. (7s. 6d.) This book of reference contains lists of the rulers of the British Isles, officers of state, bishops, peers (to 1603), parliaments (to 1547), councils of the Church in England, reckonings of time, festivals, and legal chronology. For each section there is an explanatory note and bibliography. For Canadian history the lists of secretaries concerned with the colonies will be found especially useful. [G. deT. G.]

ROBERTS, Sir C. G. D. and TUNNELL, A. L. (eds.). *The Canadian who's who: A handbook of Canadian biography of living characters*. Vol. III: 1938-1939. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press. Pp. xxx, 720. (\$15.00)

TORY, H. M. (ed.). *A history of science in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 152. (\$2.50) See p. 76.

##### (2) New France

CALDWELL, NORMAN WARD. *The French in the west, 1740-1750. An abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, 1936*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois. 1936. Pp. 13. "An exhaustive investigation of French activities in this section with the purpose of determining the importance of this vast region in the issues of the day."

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *Frontenac and the Jesuits*. (Institute of Jesuit History Publications.) Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1939. Pp. viii, 296. (\$3.20) To be reviewed later.

- DELANGLEY, JEAN. *La Salle's expedition of 1682* (Mid-America, XXII (1), Jan., 1940, 3-37). Examination to determine authorship of the source-material relating to La Salle's journey down the Mississippi in 1682.
- DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *Commencements*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'Action Canadienne-Française. 1939. Pp. 160. To be reviewed later.
- FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *La dette de l'Amérique envers la Nouvelle-France* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 11-36). The part played by French explorers and missionaries in opening up the interior of the North American continent.
- HAMMANG, FRANCIS H. *The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the beginning of the eighteenth century*. Part I: *New France and the English colonies*. (Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2e série, 47e fascicule.) Bruges: Université de Louvain. 1938. Pp. 218. Purposes to throw new light on Vaudreuil's person and career, and give a new appreciation of some of the chief events which took place during his governorship.
- MCDOWELL, FRANKLIN DAVEY. *The Champlain road*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1939. Pp. xiv, 421. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les armes des premiers colons de Montréal* (B.R.H., XLV (6), juin, 1939, 185-7). A description of various types of weapons used by the colonists between 1642 and 1700.
- POUND, ARTHUR. *Hawk of Detroit*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart]. 1939. Pp. [vi], 361. (\$2.75) The story centres around the founding of Detroit by La Mothe Cadillac at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and gives a picture of life in the settlements and fur-trading districts of New France. The policy of the French court, the ambitions of the expansionists, and the policy toward the Indians are all shown in this tale. [G. deT. G.]
- PRIESTLEY, HERBERT INGRAM. *France overseas through the old regime: A study of European expansion*. (Institute of Social Sciences, University of California.) New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. Pp. xx, 393. To be reviewed later.
- R[OY], P.-G. *La Marquise de Vaudreuil* (B.R.H., XLV (7), juillet, 1939, 217-18). Biographical sketch of the Marquise de Vaudreuil, née Louise-Elisabeth de Joybert de Marson in Acadia (1673-1740).
- ROY, RÉGIS. *Antoine de Bougainville* (B.R.H., XLV (7), juillet, 1939, 214-16). A brief sketch of the life of Antoine de Bougainville who served with Montcalm in Canada.
- Le siège de Québec en 1775-1776* (B.R.H., XLV (8), août, 1939, 225-47). Extracts from the journal of Lieut. Wm. Lindsay of the British militia.
- (3) British North America before 1867**
- BRANCH, E. DOUGLAS. *Henry Bouquet: His relict possessions* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XXII (3), Sept., 1939, 201-8). Inventory of General Bouquet's possessions, 1765.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The adventures of Robert Stevens* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII, Toronto, 1939, 11-38). The story of a forgotten loyalist pioneer in Upper Canada.
- CURRY, FREDERICK C. *Little Gibraltar* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII, Toronto, 1939, 39-45). Traces the rise and fall of the Bridge Island blockhouse, built to protect British supplies on the St. Lawrence from American marauders in the War of 1812.
- HAMIL, FRED COYNE (ed.). *John Porteous. Journal from Schenectady to Michilimackinac & the channels 1765 & 1766* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII,

- Toronto, 1939, 75-98). Journal of John Porteous, Scottish general merchant and fur trader, which gives in detail the route followed by the traders from Schenectady to Mackinac.
- HAMIL, FRED COYNE (ed.). *Sally Ainse, fur trader*. (Historical bulletin no.3.) Detroit: Algonquin Club. Jan., 1939. Pp. 27 (mimeo.). A study of the career of Sarah Ainse, alias Montour, alias Willson, an Indian woman and trader, who was a well-known figure about Detroit and the settlement on the lower Thames River during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.
- HARPER, LAWRENCE A. *The English navigation laws: A seventeenth-century experiment in social engineering*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 503. (\$3.75) See p. 71.
- HEADLAM, CECIL and NEWTON, ARTHUR PERCIVAL (eds.). *Calendar of state papers: Colonial series, America and West Indies, 1733*. Preserved in the Public Record Office. London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1939. Pp. lii, 348. (£1. 5s.) This volume is of exceptional interest to students of New England history and also of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. This was the year when the Sugar Act of later notoriety was passed and the cry of "no taxation without representation" was first raised in a petition against the bill. It was also the year when the La Tour claims were settled in Nova Scotia and the Board of Trade was first informed of the expanding whale fishery of Connecticut and Massachusetts conducted from their headquarters in Canso. Other problems considered were the issue of paper money in the New England colonies, imperial defence in the West Indies, particularly against Spain, and French intrigues with the Indians on the borders of Canada and Nova Scotia. As usual the introduction is illuminating and the index full. [D. C. H.]
- HINES, CLARENCE. *The erection of Fort Nez Perce* (Oregon historical quarterly, XL (4), Dec., 1939, 327-35). The North West Company established this post on the Walla Walla River in 1818 to derive greater profit from the Snake country trade.
- INNIS, MARY QUAYLE. *A Galt centenary* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 495-501). A short discussion of Galt's literary activities.
- JACOBS, JAMES R. *Tarnished warrior, Major-General James Wilkinson*. New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xv, 380. (\$3.50) Wilkinson was in charge of the American forces on Lake Ontario in the War of 1812, and failed ingloriously at this task.
- Journal of Stephen Cross of Newburyport, entitled "Up to Ontario," the activities of Newburyport ship builders in Canada in 1756*. With introduction by SARAH E. MULLIKEN (concluded) (Essex Institute, historical collections, LXXVI (1), Jan., 1940, 14-42). Second part of the reprinted diary of a Massachusetts shipbuilder who helped build ships at Oswego to transport the British army across Lake Ontario to attack Fort Frontenac and Fort Niagara. The first part appeared in vol. LXXV (4), Oct., 1939.
- LAMB, W. KAYE. *Sir James goes abroad* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (4), Oct., 1939, 283-92). Article based on the diary kept by Sir James Douglas on his grand tour of Europe in 1864.
- LAMBERT, R. S. *Grand forgery* (Listener, XXII, Aug. 31, 1939, 439-41). The curious case of Alexander Humphreys, the impostor who claimed half Canada one hundred years ago.
- MORRIS, RICHARD (ed.). *The era of the American Revolution: Studies inscribed to Everts Boutell Greene*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 415. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
- NEEDLER, G. H. (ed.). *Letters of Anna Jameson to Ottilie von Goethe*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xxviii, 247. (\$4.50) This collection of letters provides an interesting commentary upon literary and social movements in Europe and England during the early Victorian period. It has, in addition, a special interest for students of Canadian history. Mrs. Jameson was, of course, the author of *Winter studies and summer rambles in Canada*; and this

volume provides information concerning the character, background, and interests of one of early Canada's most amusing and pointed social critics. The collection includes seven letters written from Upper Canada. They are interesting; but, in the main, they reproduce impressions and opinions which were elaborated at greater length in Mrs. Jameson's published work on her Canadian experiences. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

NORTHROP, EVERETT H. *Burgoyne's invasion, 1777*. Part II (Bulletin of bibliography, XVI (10), Sept.-Dec., 1939, 197-8). Selected list of published materials.

*The Oregon trail: The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*. Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. Sponsored by Oregon Trail Memorial Association, Inc. (American guide series.) New York: Hastings House. 1939. Pp. xii, 244. (\$2.00)

PECKHAM, HOWARD H. (ed.). *George Croghan's journal of his trip to Detroit in 1767: With his correspondence relating thereto, now published for the first time from the papers of General Thomas Gage in the William L. Clements Library*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 61. (\$1.25) In 1756, George Croghan was appointed deputy superintendent for the western tribes by Sir William Johnson; and from then until 1772, when he retired from the Indian service, he was one of the ablest and most active of Johnson's assistants in the West. The journals of his earlier western journeys down to 1767 have already been published. In the autumn of 1767, Croghan undertook a new mission to Detroit for the purpose of investigating Indian grievances and other matters; and the journal of this journey, which has been discovered in the Gage papers in the Clements Library, University of Michigan, is published in this volume for the first time. With the journal is printed the Croghan correspondence relating to this period; and the volume is concluded with a list of the Croghan manuscripts in the Clements Library. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

R[OY], P.-G. *Le Duc de Kent et la famille de Salaberry* (B.R.H., XLV (8), août, 1939, 255-6). Describes the friendly relations between the Duke of Kent and the Salaberry family which began when the Duke visited Quebec in 1791.

RUSSELL, NELSON VANCE. *The British regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796*. Northfield, Minn.: Carleton College. 1939. Pp. xii, 302. To be reviewed later.

TALMAN, JAMES J. *A Canadian view of parties and issues on the eve of the Civil War* (Journal of Southern history, V (2), May, 1939, 245-53).

WOOD, ROBERT FRANKLIN. *Captain Jesse Platt and the New York provincial troops in the French and Indian War (1759, 1760, 1761)* (New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Record, Oct., 1939).

YOSHPE, HARRY B. *The disposition of Loyalist estates in the southern district of the State of New York*. (Studies in history, economics and public law; edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, no. 458.) New York: Columbia University Press. London: P. S. King & Son. 1939. Pp. 226. (\$2.75) A very detailed examination of the means by which estates in a small area were confiscated, of the results in land speculation, and of the settlement of subsequent claims on behalf of the Loyalists. The author shows that in this area the lands in the first instance fell into the hands of a few comparatively wealthy supporters of the revolution. [G. W. B.]

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Les représentants de la France au Canada au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 197-222). Brief biographical sketches of French consuls.

- CAMERON, K. M. *Public works in Canada*. (Under the Department of Public Works.) Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939. Pp. 84. An historical survey of public works undertaken in Canada since 1867. Includes such headings as: harbour and river development; government telegraphs; government buildings. Contains an index.
- DEXTER, GRANT. *The spirit of Canada* (Spectator, Sept. 29, 1939, 434-5).
- Drew stands by charges* (Maclean's magazine, LII (14), July 15, 1939, 10, 36-7, 39). Extracts taken from Colonel Drew's statements to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons in the investigation of the Bren gun contract.
- GRAY, V. EVAN. "The O'Connor Report" on the *British North America Act* (Canadian bar review, XVII (5), May, 1939, 309-37). Advocates less complaint of the Privy Council and more self-examination and reform as the most important determination one can form from the publication of the O'Connor report.
- HOPKINS, E. R. *Administrative justice in Canada* (Canadian bar review, XVII (9), Nov., 1939, 619-37). Examines this new method of government which has followed collectivist legislation, and holds it likely that its scope will continue to expand.
- HOWES, E. A. *With a glance backward*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 197. (\$1.50) See p. 82.
- [HUNTER, HORACE T.]. *The truth about the Bren Gun article* (Maclean's magazine, LII (13), July 1, 1939, 8-9, 28-9). The president of the MacLean Publishing Company states why he published Colonel Drew's article attacking the Bren Gun contract.
- LAING, LIONEL H. *The struggle for the recognition of Dominion autonomy* (American journal of international law, XXXIII (4), Oct., 1939, 747-53). A study based largely on Sir Robert Borden's *Memoirs*.
- LANGTON, H. H. *Sir John Cunningham McLennan: A memoir*. With a chapter on his scientific work by E. F. BURTON. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. [viii], 123. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- MORIN, VICTOR. *Pour un drapeau* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 37-58). A plea for a Canadian flag which will symbolize the historical development of the nation.
- POWER, W. KENT. *The office of attorney-general* (Canadian bar review, XVII (7), Sept., 1939, 416-29). Speculates upon the advisability of having a layman as attorney-general, e.g. Mr. Aberhart in Alberta.
- SMITH, I. NORMAN. *Tweedsmuir of Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LII (14), July 15, 1939, 6-7, 31-3). An appreciation of Lord Tweedsmuir's services as Governor-General.
- WOODSWORTH, KENNETH. *Canadian youth comes of age*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. 28. (15c.) Written by the chief organizer of the Canadian Youth Congress, this brochure discusses problems which youth in Canada is facing today.

#### (5) The Great War

- DEXTER, GRANT. *Political controversy in the last war* (Winnipeg free press, Nov. 28, 29, 30, 1939, 13, 11, 17). Three articles upon party warfare in and out of Parliament from 1914 to 1918.

### V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

- BAILEY, ALFRED G. *Personalities in the history of New Brunswick* (Prominent people of New Brunswick, ed. C. H. McLean, Saint John, 1937). An historical introduction.
- CROTEAU, J. T. and LINKLETTER, A. M. *Farm credit in Prince Edward Island: A historical survey* (Public affairs, III (2), Dec., 1939, 68-71).



MARTELL, J. S. *Government House*. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, I (4).) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1939. Pp. 17. A study of the origin, erection, and furnishing of the third government house in Halifax, built in 1800.

— *The romance of government house*. Prepared under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. Halifax: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 24. Events connected with the third government house in Halifax, built in 1800 when Sir John Wentworth was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and still standing today.

PATTERSON, GEORGE. "Sam Slick" as judge (Canadian bar review, XVII (9), Nov., 1939, 656-64). Judgment upon Judge Haliburton—"he found literary work more congenial than the ceaseless search for precedents."

RAY, E. P. *Early settlement in Nova Scotia* (School, XXVIII (4), Dec., 1939, 317-20). A general review, 1600-1820.

SEDGEWICK, G. G. *Musquodoboit* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 467-71). Reminiscences of a boyhood in Nova Scotia.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

*Afterthoughts on the Quebec election* (Economist, Dec. 9, 1939, 374).

BEAUBIEN, C.-P. *Le problème de la survivance française au Canada et les influences américaines* (France-Amérique, 30e année, no. 332, août, 1939, 221-9).

EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *Success formula for a city* (Maclean's magazine, LII (19), Oct. 1, 1939, 12-13, 39-40). Cheap power, good location, low taxes, and settled labour conditions are presented as being responsible for the prosperity of Drummondville, Quebec.

LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER de. *Le "livre de raison" des seigneurs de Montarville* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 243-70). These excerpts from the "livre de raison" in which the head of the seignury recorded such things as the state of his business affairs and important events in his domestic life, give an excellent picture of life on the Montarville Seignury from about 1740 to 1840.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Bribes de la vie joyeuse d'autrefois* (B.R.H., XLV (7), juillet, 1939, 203-6). Snow-shoeing, swimming, and "promenades en voiture" were some of the recreations enjoyed by the citizens of Montreal in the 1800's.

— *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 141-66). The colonization of this section of the present city of Montreal was undertaken by M. Gédéon de Catalogne in 1698. A list of the first settlers and a subsequent history of the parish are given.

— *Les spectacles à Montréal* (B.R.H., XLV (8), août, 1939, 248-50). Notes on a play, *Jonathas et David*, presented at the Collège de Montréal in 1776 and a circus which came to Montreal in February, 1798.

MAURALT, OLIVIER. *A propos d'une visite princière* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 119-40). Various epochs in the development of Sorel, Quebec, are described. The title refers to the visit of Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV) to the town in 1787.

*The Quebec election* (Round table, no. 117, Dec., 1939, 185-9). Analysis of the significance of wider national issues involved in the Quebec provincial election.

ROBERT, PHILIPPE. *Le type économique et social des Canadiens* (Etudes sociales, Sept.-Oct., 1938, 124-30).

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *What happened in Quebec* (Maclean's magazine, LII (23), Dec. 1, 1939, 11-12). Probes the how and why of the Quebec election.

R[oy], P.-G. *Le départ des troupes anglaises en 1871* (B.R.H., XLV (6), juin, 1939, 192). The English garrison left Quebec in 1871 to be replaced by the Royal Canadian Artillery.

— *Nos coutumes et traditions françaises* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 59-118).

T., J. S. *The Quebec election* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 505-7). Sees in Duplessis's overthrow, reassurance for Canadian unity and renewed hope for her national destiny.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *De Jacques Buteux à l'arpenteur Bouchette* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 223-42). An account of two expeditions into the Saint-Maurice region of Quebec—Jacques Buteux set out in 1651 for the purpose of converting the Indians; and in 1828 Joseph Bouchette was sent out to survey the region for the government.

VIAITE, AUGUSTE. *La province de Québec: Domaine géographique de la langue française au Canada* (France-Amérique, 30e année, no. 329, mai, 1939, 125-35).

WOOD, T. E. *Canada's war election* (The nation, CXLIX (21), Nov. 18, 1939, 551-4). Attempts an historical approach to issues involved in the Quebec election.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *Ambitious city makes the grade* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (1), Jan. 1, 1940, 16-17, 23-4). Article of praise for the achievements of Hamilton, Ontario.

— *The city behind the falls* (Maclean's magazine, LII (24), Dec. 15, 1939, 12-13, 30-1, 33). Sets out to prove that Niagara Falls is just a backdrop for the busy industrial scene of the city of Niagara Falls.

— *Small town big men* (Maclean's magazine, LII (18), Sept. 15, 1939, 16-17, 23-5). The town of Mattawa claims that it has produced more great Canadians than any other town of its size.

GARLAND, M.A. (ed.). *The diary of H. C. R. Becher* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII, Toronto, 1939, 116-43). The local history of London, Ontario, is revealed in this diary of one of the great legal minds of western Ontario.

MAYALL, K. M. *The natural resources of King Township, Ontario, 1938* (Royal Canadian Institute transactions, XXII (2), Oct., 1939, 217-58). A year's survey was made, in 1937-8, of the natural resources of King Township, to analyse the present conditions and to make recommendations for their improvement.

Ontario Historical Society. *Papers and records*. Vol. XXXIII. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1939. Pp. 158, 26. Contains historical papers which are listed separately in this bibliography, and an index to vols. I-XXXII of the *Papers and records*.

*The story of Kettleby*. Aurora, Ont.: J. M. Walton. [1939]. Pp. 28. Kettleby, originally "Lot 28 on the Fourth Concession of King Township, York County, Ont.," became a flourishing mill town in the mid-nineteenth century but dwindled again to a quiet village when the coming of the railroad changed travel routes.

### (4) The Prairie Provinces

BRITNELL, G. E. *The rehabilitation of prairie farms* (Canadian banker, XLVII (1), Oct., 1939, 18-31). The author of *The wheat economy* (University of Toronto Press, 1939), examines the work done under the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics; Department of Trade and Commerce. *Census of Manitoba, 1936: Occupations, unemployment, earnings and employment, households and families*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. xl, 465. (50c.)

COLQUETTE, R. D. *The P.F.R.A. in Manitoba* (Country guide, LVIII (8), Aug., 1939, 6-7, 24). An account of work being done under the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act.

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Canada and Alberta: The revival of dominion control over the provinces* (Politica, IV, no. 16, June, 1939, 95-123). Studies the resuscitation by the federal government of the powers of reservation and disallowance of provincial legislation.

GARSTIN, L. H. *In Turner Valley* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 479-88). Surveys the development of Canada's largest oil field.

MACPHERSON, L. G. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Municipal Finances and Administration of the City of Winnipeg, 1939* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (1), Feb., 1940, 68-72). Analysis and criticism of the report.

MORROW, W. G. *Disallowance* (Alberta law quarterly, III (3), Feb., 1939, 83-9). Reviews the exercise of the disallowance power by the Dominion government, with particular reference to the disallowance of Alberta government acts in 1937 and 1938.

MORTON, W. L. *Winnipeg and Manitoba, 1874-1922* (Manitoba arts review, I (4), winter, 1939, 29-41). A study in representative democracy.

*Prairie farm rehabilitation* (C.S.T.A. review, no. 23, Dec., 1939, whole issue).

*Report of the Royal Commission on the Municipal Finances and Administration of the City of Winnipeg, 1939*. Winnipeg: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 567.

STEWART, A. *Prairie farm rehabilitation programme* (C.J.E.P.S., V (3), Aug., 1939, 310-24).

VINER, JACOB. *The Viner recommendations for Alberta* (Monetary times, Oct. 21, 1939, 507).

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

IRELAND, WILLARD E. *The evolution of the boundaries of British Columbia* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (4), Oct., 1939, 263-82). Presents the historical and other factors which determined the limits of British Columbia.

KITTO, DORA. *Indian place names in British Columbia* (United Empire, XXXI (1), Jan., 1940, 25-7).

WALKER, SIR ERNEST. *Vancouver Island on a pension* (Journal of the United Service Institution of India, LXIX (297), Oct., 1939, 523-9). Information for an officer about to retire concerning living conditions, weather, sport, education, etc., on Vancouver Island.

#### (6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

CYRIAX, RICHARD J. *Sir John Franklin's last Arctic expedition: A chapter in the history of the Royal Navy*. London: Methuen & Co. 1939. Pp. xviii, 222. (12s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *The vanishing frontier: A saga of traders, mounties and men of the last north west*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1939. Pp. 285. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

LAYTHA, EDGAR. *North again for gold: Birth of Canada's Arctic Empire*. New York. Toronto: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 360. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.

MAIN, THOS. C. *What to do with our wasting north?* (Forest and outdoors, Dec., 1939, 364-5, 373-4). It is suggested that the government set aside big reserves, to protect the forests, wildlife, and water areas.

- SCEARCE, STANLEY. *Northern lights to fields of gold*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1939. Pp. 388. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- SEIDENFADEN, GUNNAR. *Modern Arctic exploration*. Preface by PETER FREUCHEN. Trans. from the Danish by NAOMI WALFORD. London: Jonathan Cape. 1939. Pp. 189. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
- SUGDEN, J. C. and MOTT, P. G. *Oxford University Greenland expedition, 1938* (Geographical journal, XCV (1), Jan., 1940, 43-51). Gives in general outline the results obtained from glaciological and meteorological research on the Sukkertoppen Ice-Cap, West Greenland.

#### (7) Newfoundland

- TAIT, R. H. *Newfoundland: A summary of the history and development of Britain's oldest colony from 1497 to 1939*. New York: Newfoundland Information Bureau. 1939. Pp. 260. This volume, written by the director of the Newfoundland Information Bureau, is principally a description of Newfoundland at the present time. There is a sketch of its history in the opening chapter, and some historical material in other parts of the book. [G. deT. G.]

### VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

#### (1) General

- BLADEN, V. W. *Tariff policy and employment in depression* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (1), Feb., 1940, 72-8). Theoretical analysis, related to the Canadian tariff of 1930.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce. *Canada, 1940: The official handbook of present conditions and recent progress*. Ottawa. 1940. Pp. vi, 202. (25c.)
- HANSEN, H. E. *The economic position and development of Canada* (Conference Board economic record, I, Oct. 23, 1939, 157-73).
- HEATON, HERBERT. *A history of trade and commerce: With special reference to Canada*. New and rev. ed. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1939. Pp. xii, 404. (80c.)
- INNIS, HAROLD A. *The cod fisheries: The history of an international economy*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xx, 520. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- LATTIMER, J. E. *British bacon agreement* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (1), Feb., 1940, 60-7). Speculation upon the outcome of Canada's experiment in the bacon industry, producing to order, with regulation of price for a year in advance.
- LOGAN, H. A. and INMAN, M. K. *A social approach to economics*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 659. (\$3.75) This survey of economics is addressed primarily to Canadian university students. It is an attempt to expound the principles of the subject in terms of Canadian experience. Canadian examples and illustrations have been largely used; and, in addition, repeated reference is made to countries such as the United States and Great Britain with which Canada has been closely integrated in its economic development. The book is in no sense a history of the Canadian economy; it is rather a description and analysis of the present economic order with special reference to the Dominion. [D. G. C.]
- PATTERSON, W. J. *The Long Point furnace* (Canadian mining journal, Sept., 1939, 544-9). Relates the history of this furnace, which flourished from 1816 to 1847, and was the first successful mining venture in Canada west of Quebec City.

- PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *Central banking in the British Dominions*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 462. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- REYNOLDS, LLOYD G. *The control of competition in Canada*. (Harvard studies in monopoly and competition, 2.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 324. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- Second trade agreement between the United States and Canada*. Vol. I: *Introduction, an analysis of the agreement*. Washington: U.S. Tariff Commission. 1938. Pp. iv, 247.
- SILVERCRUYS. *L'accord commercial entre le Dominion du Canada et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Bulletin commercial belge, LVIII, Sept. 18, 1939, 2303-7).

## (2) Agriculture

- MCARTHUR, I. S. and COKE, J. *Types of farming in Canada*. (Canada, Department of Agriculture; Economics Division, Marketing Service; Publication 653; Farmers' bulletin no. 77.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 43.

See also under separate provinces, especially The Prairie Provinces.

## (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

- BENJAMIN, L. M. *A bird's eye view of Canadian Jewish history* (Canadian Jewish year book, 1939-40, 67-81). Jews under the French régime; the struggle for emancipation in Montreal and other centres in Quebec after the British conquest; Jewish communities in western Canada.
- DOUVILLE, RAYMOND. *L'Affaire Hart: Historical circumstances of the legislation giving Jews a status of political equality* (Canadian Jewish year book, 1939-40, 149-52). Following agitation led by the Hart family, Jews were given equal rights with other Canadians by legislation passed in Lower Canada in 1832.
- GROSSMAN, VLADIMIR (ed.). *Canadian Jewish year book, 1939-1940*. Vol. I. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Year Book Reg'd., 1403 Bleury St. 1939. Pp. 352. (\$2.50)
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Les Juifs dans l'histoire canadienne* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 167-94).
- QUIRING, WALTER. *Russlanddeutsche suchen eine Heimat: Die deutsche Einwanderung in den paraguayischen Chaco*. Karlsruhe: H. Schneider. 1938. The emigration of Russian Germans is traced from Russia to Canada and to Chaco Boreal, Paraguay.
- REID, IRA De A. *The negro immigrant: His background, characteristics and social adjustment, 1890-1937*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 261. (\$3.50) See p. 82.
- ROME, D. *Jews in the far Northwest* (Canadian Jewish year book, 1939-40, 82-102). Life in Jewish communities in British Columbia in the mid-nineteenth century.
- ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *Intermarriage among Jews in Canada* (Jewish post, XV (36), Sept. 14, 1939, 9, 14-16). Interesting facts and figures on a thorny subject.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sons of the Maccabees* (Jewish post, XV (49), Dec. 7, 1939, 7-8, 29). Reviews the participation of Jews in the military history of Canada.
- WOODBURY, ROBERT M. *The seventh census of population in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., VI (1), Feb., 1940, 1-21). Special study of the 1931 census, to analyse and to develop the meaning of the facts assembled.

## (4) Geography

- CUTHBERTSON, GEORGE A. *Sir William E. Logan at work in Gaspé, 1843* (Canadian mining journal, LX (5), May, 1939, 286-8). Considers the factors leading to the creation of a general Canadian Geological Survey and the appointment of William Logan in 1843.

MACKAY, B. R. *Geology of the national parks of Canada in the Rockies and Selkirks* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (2), Feb., 1940, 74-95).

MARTYN, HOWE. *The Canadian shield* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 415-28). Discourses on the geology, mining discoveries, and future possibilities of the precambrian shield, the backbone of Canada.

#### (5) Transportation and Communication

*Apropos the St. Lawrence waterway* (Canadian business, XIII (2), Feb., 1940, 18-21). Presents the leading arguments pro and con, concerning the waterway project.

BISHOP, EDWARD E. *The Banff-Jasper highway* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (1), Jan., 1940, 2-21). Beautifully illustrated description of the new highway between Banff and Jasper National Parks, to be completed by June, 1940.

CUTHBERTSON, GEORGE A. *The building of trails and roads into British Columbia* (Canadian mining journal, LX (10), Oct., 1939, 614-17). The gold rush of 1858 and 1859 thrust upon the colony's first governor, Sir James Douglas, the task of building many new trails and roads to the mining fields.

ELLIS, FRANK H. *Pioneer flying in British Columbia, 1910-1914* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (4), Oct., 1939, 227-61). Relates the history of early Canadian aviation on the west coast.

FRASER, A. D. R. *Early steamboats on the Great Lakes* (School, XXVIII (6), Feb., 1940, 506-8). Recalls some of the well-known boats that plied the lakes in the first half of last century.

GAUL, WESTON. *Canada's shipbuilding industry* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (2), Feb., 1940, 56-73). Considers favourably the adaptability of the industry to the expansion which will be demanded of it during the war.

GODSELL, PHILIP N. *Birch canoe to thunder-bird* (Forest and outdoors, Sept., 1939, 260-84). Traces the romantic history of transportation in the northland, from canoe and York boat to winged aeroplane.

GUILLET, EDWIN C. *Pioneer travel*. (Early life in Upper Canada series, book iv.) Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 176.

HOWAY, F. W. *Building the big canoes* (Beaver, outfit 270 (3), Dec., 1939, 38-42). Descriptions of the construction of the *canot de maître* and *canot du nord*.

HOWE, C. D. *Civil aviation in Canada* (Selected papers from the transactions of the Canadian Military Institute, 1938-9, Toronto, 1938-9, 16-26). Address by the Minister of Transport upon the development of civil aviation in Canada since 1936.

ORR, JOHN and JARDINE, MARJORIE. *The pine lady* (Dalhousie review, XIX (4), Jan., 1940, 449-55). Saga of a famous figure-head in the days of Maritime "wooden ships and iron men."

#### VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BAILEY, ALFRED G. *A history of the University* (Up the hill, University of New Brunswick year book for 1939, presented by Students' Representative Council). A sketch of the history of the University of New Brunswick.

COADY, M. M. *Masters of their own destiny: The story of the Antigonish movement of adult education through economic cooperation*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1939. Pp. xii, 170. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.

LONGLEY, RONALD STEWART. *Acadia University, 1838-1938*. Wolfville, N.S. [Kentville, N.S.: Kentville Publishing Co.] 1939. Pp. 187. See p. 80.

Ontario, Department of Education. *Report for the year 1938*. Toronto: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. iv, 269.

WALLACE, R. C. *Canadian Rhodes scholars* (Canadian geographical journal, XIX (6), Dec., 1939, 319-29). An examination of the contributions to Canadian public life made by these men.

### VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*Catherine Tegaskouita: Abrégé de la vie de Catherine Tegaskouita, chrétienne iroquoise, décédée à la mission du Sault de Saint François-Xavier, le 17 avril 1680* (B.R.H., XLV (7), juillet, 1939, 193-202).

CRESSMAN, J. BOYD. *History of the first Mennonite Church, Kitchener, Ontario* (Mennonite quarterly review, XIII (4), Oct., 1939, 251-83). Second and concluding part of the church's history, from 1859 to the present day. Part I appeared in the July, 1939, issue.

HARVEY, D. C. (ed.). *Letters of Rev. Norman McLeod, 1835-51*. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, II (1).) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1939. Pp. 32. Fourteen letters written by Rev. Norman McLeod of St. Ann's, Cape Breton, to his grandfather, John Gordon, of Pictou County.

HEENEY, BERTAL. *I walk with a bishop (Charles James Stewart)*. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 113. This pleasantly written appreciation of the Hon. and Right Rev. Charles James Stewart, Bishop of Quebec, 1826 to 1837, gives little information which is not to be found in other readily available sources. Yet it cannot be said that this book is not worth while, for Stewart should be better known. In his day, he represented the Church of England at its best, and any well-written publication which draws attention to him deserves notice. Canon Heenev has made one or two avoidable slips. Langhorn (p. 60) was not lost at sea. In 1820, when Stewart travelled through Kingston, the Rev. John Stuart (p. 82) was not in charge; he had been dead for nine years. It is irritating to read of "an inspiring friend" (p. 108) when the name of W. J. D. Waddilove, who was a great admirer of Stewart's and did much to keep alive his memory, could easily have been given. There is no index. [JAMES J. TALMAN]

JAMET, ALBERT (ed.). *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716. Composées par les Réverendes Mères Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St-Ignace et Marie Andrée Duplessis de Ste Hélène, anciennes religieuses de ce monastère*. Éditées dans leur texte original avec une introduction et des notes. Québec: L'Hôtel-Dieu. 1939. Pp. lx, 449. (\$5.00) No finer tribute to the earnest labours of the Hospitalières of Québec for three hundred years than this superb edition of the *Annales* could have been devised. Though published as early as 1751 this important source for the religious and social history of early Quebec has not been readily available, nor has it been issued in any completely reliable edition. This is a definitive edition, with very valuable foot-notes, and a very full essay upon the origins of the Hôtel-Dieu, and the authors of this work, from the pen of the scholarly editor of the splendid edition of the works of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation which is now appearing. Wherever there are students interested in early Canadian history this work should be available. [R. M. S.]

KELLY, Sister MARY GILBERT. *Catholic immigration colonization projects, 1815-1860*. New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1939. Pp. ix, 290. (\$3.00) Thomas D'Arcy McGee was one of the Catholic leaders who called together the Buffalo Convention of 1858 for the purpose of organizing a national company to promote and direct the work of colonizing Catholics on the western lands of the United States and Canada.

KLINGBERG, FRANK J. *Sir William Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1749-1774* (Historical magazine of Protestant Episcopal Church, March, 1939).



McLAURIN, C. C. *Pioneering in western Canada: A story of the Baptists*. Calgary: The Author, 207 2nd Ave. N.E. 1939. Pp. [xvi], 402. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours, fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France: *Ecrits spirituels et historiques*. Publiés par Dom CLAUDE MARTIN. Réédités par Dom ALBERT JAMET. Avec des annotations critiques, des pièces documentaires et une biographie nouvelle. Tome IV. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. Québec: L'Action sociale. 1939. Pp. 422. (85 frs.) This fourth volume of Marie de l'Incarnation's writings, and the second of her correspondence is equal in all respects to its predecessors. The same careful scholarship, helpful foot-notes, and artistic yet substantial format mark this volume. The editor, Dom Jamet, and the publishers, Desclée de Brouwer and Co., continue to merit all praise.

This volume covers the period 1645-52, the era of great crisis to the mission work, and of greatest danger from the Iroquois threat to the existence of the colony. Though the correspondence of this period is quite as much devoted to matters of piety as that of the earlier volume, it is of fundamental interest to historians in its reflection of the attitude of one of the strongest characters in the colony to this desperate situation. There is considerable incidental information on the conditions in the colony, chiefly in the letters to her son. A citation from one of the most interesting of these will indicate their importance (Marie à son fils, Québec, Aug. 30, 1650 in IV, 284-301): "... neither us nor all of Canada will be able to subsist another two years without aid ... if this aid fails we shall have to die or return to France. ... I believe however that if the enemy gets into war with the Neutral Nation and the Andastes that this armed diversion will enable us to hold on a bit longer. But if he pursues his conquests and victories there will be nothing further here for the French to do. Commerce will be unable to carry on; commerce no longer going on there will be no vessels coming; vessels no longer coming all the necessities of life will be lacking, such things as cloth, clothing, the larger part of our food supplies, as fats and flour which the garrison and the religious houses cannot do without. It is not that people do not work and do not produce food but the country does not yet yield sufficient for [our] maintenance. The third thing which retards our affairs is that if commerce fails as a result of the war the Savages who stop here only to trade will disperse into the woods ... [and there will be] ... no longer anything for us to do as we are here only to attract them to the faith and to gain them for God. ... I speak on the supposition that God may permit the extremity which we fear." [R. M. S.]

Mary of the Incarnation: *Foundress of the Ursuline Monastery Quebec. 1639-1939*. By an Ursuline of Quebec. Quebec: Ursuline Monastery. 1939. Pp. 90. A work of piety written in a pleasant style and intended for the devout. [R. M. S.]

O'HARA, EDWIN V. *Pioneer Catholic history of Oregon*. (Centennial edition.) Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 234. (\$1.00) This is the fourth edition of a book, the first edition of which was reviewed in the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, XVII, 119. The mistakes mentioned there have been corrected, and new material added from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the archdiocese of Quebec. [G. deT. G.]

POULIOT, LÉON. *Premiers ouvriers de Nouvelle-France: Les pères Ennemond Massé et Anne de Nouë, missionnaires jésuites*. Montréal: Le Messager Canadien. 1940. Pp. 150. To be reviewed later.

ROSSER, F. T. *First London Welsh Baptist Church (Denfield)* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII, Toronto, 1939, 104-15). Traces the history and fortunes of the church from its foundation in 1829 to the present.

THEODORE, Sister MARY. *Heralds of Christ the King: Missionary record of the North Pacific, 1837-1878*. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1939. Pp. xviii, 274. (\$3.50) An account of missionary endeavour in the Pacific North-west for the years 1838 to 1878 in the form of a series of personal words based upon secondary sources. [R. M. S.]

- [WALTON, JESSE M.]. *From the auction block of slavery to the rostrum of Quaker ministry: The life of William Allan, the negro missionary preacher of the Society of Friends.* Aurora, Ont.: J. M. Walton. 1938. Pp. 8. (10c.) Liberated from slavery at the age of 29, William Allan came to Canada in the late nineteenth century and gained some fame as an evangelical preacher in the vicinity of Newmarket, Ont.

## IX. GENEALOGY

- FAIRCHILD, TIMOTHY MARSH. *The name and family of Fairchild . . . with supplement of the Canadian branch of the Fairchild family.* Iowa City, Iowa. [1939]. Pp. 189. Most of this volume is devoted to an account of the Fairchild family, which settled in the Long Point area in 1792, and the descendants who went to Iowa. The author has quoted extensively from letters received from the Canadian and Ontario Archives. [J. J. TALMAN]
- GREEN, ERNEST. "Frey" (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXXIII, Toronto, 1939, 45-74). History of a family whose members divided their allegiance in the Revolutionary War.
- [POOLE, INA]. *Canada Settlement, Ogle County, Illinois, 1838-39: 1939.* Published by the Tri-County Press, Polo, Illinois. [1939]. Pp. 63. This booklet, evidently edited by Miss Ina Poole of Polo, Illinois, contains fifteen articles by various writers. Although primarily a genealogical work dealing with the Lawrence, Poole, Sanborn, Slater, and Garrett families, this publication is also of general interest, for a century ago these families left Upper Canada to make new homes for themselves north-west of Buffalo Grove, Illinois, in a community which is still known as Canada Settlement. Their participation in the Rebellion of 1837 caused their emigration. [J. J. TALMAN]
- R[OY], P.-G. *La famille Chinic* (B.R.H., XLV (7), juillet, 1939, 207-10). Martin Dechinique came to Quebec in 1740 as a member of the crew of the *Rubis*. He remained there and the family later changed their name to "Chinic".
- *La famille Dumas* (B.R.H., XLV (6), juin, 1939, 161-4). Biographical details concerning three brothers of this family who emigrated to Canada shortly before the close of the French régime.

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAGINSKY, PAUL H. *German works relating to America, 1493-1800: A list compiled from the collections of the New York Public Library* (Bulletin of New York Public Library, XLIII, March-Dec., 1939). The ninth article of this series appeared in December.
- BUCK, SOLON J. *The status of historical bibliography in the United States* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LXIII (4), Oct., 1939, 390-400). Surveys the coverage now achieved by bibliographies of American history.
- GRIFFIN, G. G. and LOURAINÉ, D. M. *Writings on American history, 1935: A bibliography of books and articles on United States and Canadian history published during the year 1935, with some memoranda on other portions of America.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1939. Pp. xxxii, 563. (\$1.25, vellum)
- and TATE, K. M. *Writings on American history, 1934: A bibliography of books and articles on United States and Canadian history published during the year 1934, with some memoranda on other portions of America.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1938. Pp. xxxiv, 463. (\$1.00 cloth)
- KAPLAN, LOUIS (comp.). *Research materials in the social sciences: An annotated guide for graduate students.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. Pp. 36. (60c.)
- MACKERRACHER, CHRISTINA. *Bibliography of imprints in London, Ontario.* London, Ont.: Library School, University of Western Ontario. 1939. Pp. 28 (typewritten). A copy may be consulted in the library of the University of Western Ontario.

MORGAN, WILLIAM THOMAS and MORGAN, CHLOE Siner. *A bibliography of British history (1700-1715): With special reference to the reign of Queen Anne*. Vol. III. Bloomington, Indiana University. 1939. Pp. viii, 705. See p. 77.

THOMPSON, CLAUDE WILLETT. *William Wood, Canadian historian and author: Bibliography; Forty years of study and writing, 1896-1936*. (Issued in connection with a paper about this author delivered before the St. James Literary Society, Inc., Montreal, on the twenty-fourth of Jan., 1939.) Montreal: St. James Literary Society. 1939. Pp. 12 (mimeo.).

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

COLGATE, WILLIAM. *The genesis of a Canadian art movement* (Bridle and golfer, XVII (2 and 3), Nov., Dec., 1939, 14-15, 29, 32, 20-1, 30). Discussion of the Dominion's early painters and etchers.

*Mystery of light and air* (Bridle and golfer, XVI (4), June, 1939, 20-1, 30). Discusses the style and subjects of Frank Panabaker, young Canadian landscape painter.

*Visions and impressions* (Bridle and golfer, XV (6), Jan.-Feb., 1939, 16-17, 34). Relates the early struggles and rise of Canadian artist Leonard Brooks.

LANGDON, STELLA. *Cultural force in Dominion's life* (Financial post, Jan. 27, 1940, 38-9). Brings forward Quebec's achievements in art, drama, letters, and science as a brilliant chapter in Canadian culture.

MACMILLAN, Sir ERNEST C. *Canadian musical life* (Canadian geographical journal, XIX (6), Dec., 1939, 330-9). A plea that Canada be a creditor and not a debtor nation in the musical world.

SHURTLIFF, HAROLD R. *The log cabin myth: A study of the early dwellings of the English colonists in North America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxii, 243. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

## XII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

ALEXANDER, HARTLEY B. *The horse in American Indian culture* (So live the works of men, ed. by DONALD D. BRAND and FRED E. HARVEY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939, 65-74). A study of the horse in the art of the Plains Indians.

BAPTIE, S. *Legend of Big River* (Beaver, outfit 270 (1), June, 1939, 42-3). A popular rendering of a Dog-Rib myth.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Assomption sash*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 93, anthropological series 24.) Ottawa: King's Printer. N.d. Pp. 51; 18 plates. A scholarly study, well illustrated and well documented, of the origin, history, and manufacture of the *ceintures fléchées* or Assomption sashes, so popular among Indians and fur traders from the eighteenth century onwards. The style seems to have become standardized in Assomption County, near Montreal, the source of the thousands of sashes used by the fur-trading companies in the early nineteenth century. The technique involved, that of finger weaving, was widely used for garter making, and it seems probable that the sash developed from the garter; the origin of finger weaving itself is more obscure, but was probably Indian, elaborated to an almost unrecognizable extent by French craftswomen.

*How totem poles originated* (Queen's quarterly, XLVI (3), autumn, 1939, 304-11). A summary of the history of the practice of erecting totem poles, and their significance to the Indians of British Columbia.

*Indian silversmiths on the Pacific coast* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIII, series 3, May, 1939, 23-8; 8 plates). A well-illustrated study, dealing both with the history of the craft and with its stylisms.

- BARNETT, H. G. *Culture elements distributions: IX Gulf of Georgia Salish* (University of California anthropological records, I (5), 1939, iv, 221-95; planographed). A statistical study of the distribution of culture elements among the Salish on both sides of the Gulf of Georgia, with analyses of the coefficients of similarity between different groups.
- BARRET, P. *Bibliographie américaniste* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXX (2), 1938, 395-505). A comprehensive annual bibliography, arranged according to subject-matter and region.
- BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE, ARISTIDE. *L'organisation sociale des anciens Iroquois* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 4, 1939, 271-89). A somewhat discursive sketch of Iroquois family life, including the position of women, based largely on the *Jesuit relations*.  


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*Sur le peuplement de l'Amérique du Nord* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 3, 1938, 243-82). An exposition of various views concerning the origin of the American aborigines, with the author's conclusions.
- BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ and DE LAGUNA, FREDERICA. *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River delta, Alaska*. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard. 1938. Pp. 592; 18 plates; 18 text-figures. This volume gives an adequate study of a little-known, but distinct, tribe, the Eyak, living between Prince William Sound and Yakutat Bay in southern Alaska. Though only a few Eyak survive, the Danish and American authors have succeeded in reconstructing much of their culture by a skilful combination of anthropological, archaeological, and historical techniques. The position of the tribe in respect to circumpolar traits has been carefully analysed and tabulated.
- BLISS, WESLEY L. and HAYES, ALDEN. *Preliminary report of archaeological work in Alberta, Canada* (New Mexico anthropologist, II (2), Nov.-Dec., 1937, 46-7).
- BONIN, GERHARDT VON and MORANT, G. M. *Indian races in the United States: A survey of previously published cranial measurements* (Biometrika, XXX (1-2), June, 1938, 94-129). A statistical study on the coefficients of resemblance of various groups of American crania.
- BOURGET, CLERMONT. *Douze ans chez les sauvages: Au Grand-Lac des Esclaves, comme médecin et agent des Indiens (1923-1935)*. Rougemont, P.Q.: The Author. 1938. Pp. 251. To be reviewed later.
- BOYD, WILLIAM C. *Blood groups of American Indians* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXV (2), July-Sept., 1939, 215-35). An important summary of the data on Indian blood groups, indicating less uniformity in type than was formerly assumed.
- CANDELA, P. B. *Blood-group determinations upon the bones of thirty Aleutian mummies* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXIV (3), Jan.-March, 1939, 361-83). An important study of blood groups from pre-Russian Aleut remains, with data on the distribution of similar types in North America and northern Asia.
- CARMICHAEL, D. M. *Appendix: Psychology and ethnology* [to DREVER, H. I. *The Cambridge expedition to west Greenland, 1938*] (Geographical journal, XCIV (5), Nov., 1939, 398-401). A summary of the methods and results of anthropological work among the Eskimo of west Greenland.
- COATSWORTH, EMERSON. *The Ojibway of Rama (Ontario)* (World youth, IV (7), April 8, 1939, 19). A brief note on past and present conditions among the southern Ontario Ojibwa.
- COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *Exploring frozen fragments of American history* (National geographic magazine, LXXV (5), May, 1939, 633-56). A beautifully illustrated account of archaeological work in Bering Strait, with descriptions of Eskimo history and life, past and present.

COOPER, JOHN M. *Is the Algonquian family hunting ground system pre-Columbian?* (American anthropologist, XLI (1), Jan.-March, 1939, 66-90). An exhaustive and critical study of land tenure among the Algonkians, leading to the conclusion that the present system of family ownership is pre-Columbian.

*Notes on the ethnology of the Otchipwe of Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake.* (Catholic University of America, anthropological series, III.) Washington: Catholic University of America. 1936. Pp. 28. A summary of information on material culture, social institutions, and magico-religious practices; the data, collected rapidly, are admittedly sketchy, but especially valuable since the Ojibwa of these areas have been little studied.

CURRAN, JAMES W. *Here was Vinland.* Sault Ste. Marie: Sault Daily Star. 1939. Pp. xvi, 359; 21 plates. The author believes that Vinland lay south and west of James Bay, and that it was reached by the Vikings through Hudson Strait. This conclusion is based on: (1) Relics of Norse type found in, and west of, the Great Lake region; the Kensington Stone is included in this category. (2) Linguistic evidence; the Moose River Cree call white men, *wooden sailing-ship (men)*, and oak, *wooden ship wood*. (3) Geographical, botanical, and ornithological data from the sagas. (4) Mandan physical characteristics and practices suggestive of pre-Columbian European influence. Though the presentation is admittedly and deliberately uncritical, consisting in part of the republishing of newspaper articles written as the thesis developed, the author has accomplished a valuable piece of work in bringing together an arresting mass of all types of evidence, and especially in collecting affidavits with respect to the much-discussed Beardmore finds. These comprise basic historical documents for any future appraisal of the significance of the articles. An interesting theory is advanced that Norsemen were responsible for the development of copper working in the Lake Superior region, using this easily obtainable material to supplement or replace their iron weapons.

CURRELLEY, C. T. *Viking weapons found near Beardmore, Ontario* (C.H.R., XX (1), March, 1939, 4-7). An authoritative statement on the Viking weapons found near Lake Nipigon and their acquisition by the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.

CURTIS, NATALIE. *The Indians' book: An offering by the American Indians of Indian lore, musical and narrative, to form a record of the songs and legends of their race.* New York and London: Harper & Bros. 1937. Pp. 624. The sub-title adequately describes the scope of this volume.

DE LAGUNA, FREDERICA. *A pottery vessel from Kodiak Island, Alaska* (American antiquity, IV (4), April, 1939, 334-43). A comprehensive description of a unique specimen of pottery from Kodiak Island.

DENSMORE, FRANCES. *Nootka and Quileute music.* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin 124.) Washington: Gov't. Printing Office. 1939. Pp. xxvi, 358; 24 plates. Although primarily an exposition of the music of the Makah, Clayoquot, and Quileute of north-western Washington and the extreme south-west of Vancouver Island, this volume gives a comprehensive, if not detailed, description of most aspects of their tribal life, especially of phases related to music. It was these Indians who formerly paddled out into the Pacific in pursuit of whales, and Miss Densmore has described the manufacture of whaling gear and the hunting technique itself, as well as the whaling songs. In fact, all aspects of social life are touched on as background for the songs that accompanied them. In addition to recording two hundred and ten songs with words and music, the authoress has compared exhaustively this north-western music with that of other North American Indian tribes.

*The poetry of Indian songs (So live the works of men, ed. by DONALD D. BRAND and FRED. E. HARVEY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939, 121-30).* Descriptions and carefully chosen examples of Indian poetry.

DOERING, JOHN FREDERICK and DOERING, EILEEN ELITA. *Some western Ontario folk beliefs and practices* (Journal of American folk-lore, LI (199), Jan.-March, 1938 (issued, Jan., 1939), 60-8). A series of popular beliefs found from Brant County westward to Lake Huron.

- DRUCKER, PHILIP. *Rank, wealth, and kinship in Northwest Coast society* (American anthropologist, XLI (1), Jan.-March, 1939, 55-65). Among the Indians of the North-west Coast there was no series of stratified ranks, but a situation in which each freeman had his accepted position, dependent upon hereditary title and wealth.
- EGGAN, FRED (ed.). *Social anthropology of North American tribes: Essays in social organization, law, and religion, presented to Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown upon the occasion of his accepting the chair of social anthropology at Oxford University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xvii, 456. A series of detailed studies of Indian social organization and practice, the work of several of Radcliffe-Brown's students; apart from the facts presented, this volume is important in illustrating his influence upon American anthropology.
- EMBREE, EDWIN R. *Indians of the Americas*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. xii, 260; many illustrations. To be reviewed later.
- EWERS, JOHN CANFIELD. *Plains Indian painting*. Stanford University Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 84; 44 plates. A well-illustrated and comprehensive study of the styles and techniques of hide painting among the Plains Indians, with observations on the practice in other parts of North America.
- FARIES, R. (ed.). *A dictionary of the Cree language, based upon the foundations laid by REV. E. A. WATKINS*. Toronto: General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. 1938. Pp. x, 530. This volume is a convenient dictionary of Cree, containing Cree-English and English-Cree sections, with some account of regional dialectical differences. It is based on the work of Watkins in 1865, and is dedicated to the memory of the veteran missionary, John A. Mackay.
- FERGUSON, ROBERT [ed. L. D. STAIR]. *Arctic harpooner*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 216. Contains a number of observations, made in 1878-9, on the Eskimo of Southampton Island.
- FLANNERY, REGINA. *An analysis of coastal Algonquian culture*. (Catholic University of America, anthropological series 7.) Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1939. Pp. 219. A comprehensive study of the distribution of 327 traits of culture in north-eastern America. Analysis shows which are limited to the Algonkian tribes of the Maritime Provinces and the northern and central Atlantic littoral; these elements can be regarded as characteristically coastal Algonkian.
- *The shaking-tent rite among the Montagnais of James Bay* (Primitive man, XII (1), Jan., 1939, 11-16). A description of this magico-religious ritual as witnessed among the Montagnais at Rupert's House, with observations on the distribution and significance of the practice.
- FRANCINE, JACQUES. *The forgotten land* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (1), Jan., 1939, 52-7). Contains photographs of, and observations on, Labrador Indians.
- FRAZER, Sir JAMES G. *The native races of America*. London: Lund, Humphries Co. 1939. Pp. 361. A series of copious extracts, arranged geographically, from the original sources used by the author in his comparative works.
- GARFIELD, VIOLA E. *Tsimshian clan and society* (University of Washington publications in anthropology, VII (3), Feb., 1939, 167-340). A detailed study of social groupings and practices among the Tsimshian of northern British Columbia.
- GATES, R. RUGGLES. *The blood groups and other features of the Micmac Indians* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, LXVIII (2), July-Dec., 1938, 283-98). A study of physical and physiological features and their inheritance among the Micmac of Nova Scotia.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM. *Prehistoric wanderings of the Eskimos* (Beaver, outfit 270 (3), Dec., 1939, 18-23). An illustrated summary of the problems of Eskimo origins and migrations.

- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Fur feast to . . . breadline; The "Blond Eskimo" and the created want; Tragedy in the land of snows* (Forest and outdoors, XXIV (6, 8, 10), June, Aug., Oct., 1938, 166-8; 231-4; 302-4, 313, 318). Tales of the plight of Canada's northern natives as a result of the white man's exploitation of the fur resources.
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- Red hunters of the snows. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. 324. An account of thirty years' residence among the Athabaskan tribes of the far North-west and the western Eskimo, with many pertinent observations on the effects of the fur trade and the present condition of the natives.
- GREEN, EDWARD. *The Squamish totems* (Beaver, outfit 270 (1), June, 1939, 36-7). A popular account of the traditional history and totems of the chief of the Squamish Indians near Vancouver.
- GREENMAN, E. F. *Indian chiefs of Michigan* (Michigan history magazine, XXIII (3), summer, 1939, 220-49). A series of short biographies of Michigan Indian chiefs, including several who were important in the early history of Ontario.
- GROEWEL, MARGARETA. *Haltung und Erziehung des Kindes bei den nordamerikanischen Indianern*. Hambourg: Evert. 1937. Pp. 82.
- GUIE, HEISTER DEAN. *Nature and the northwestern Red Man* (Nature magazine, XXXII (2), Feb., 1939, 71-3). A note on the utilization of plants by the Indians of southern British Columbia, Washington, and Idaho.
- HAECKEL, JOSEF. *Hochgott- und lebenskraftglaube bei dem Apache, Sioux und Eskimos* (Anthropos, XXXIII (5-6), Sept.-Dec., 1938, 960-2). Observations on parallels in religious beliefs among three Indian groups.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Sin, sex and sickness in Saulteaux belief* (British journal of medical psychology, XVIII (2), July 24, 1939, 191-7). A study, with case histories, of the Saulteaux attitude to sexual transgressions and their effects upon the individuals concerned.
- HEIZER, ROBERT F. *The bulbed enema syringe and enema tube in the new world* (Primitive man, XII (4), Oct., 1939, 85-93). The distribution of these medical appliances suggests a common Asiatic-American origin.
- HENNIG, R. *Normannen des 11 Jahrhunderts in der Hudson-bai und an den Grossen Seen* (Petermanns geographische mitteilungen, LXXXV (2), Feb., 1939, 58-60). Evidence of various kinds, including the Viking weapons found at Beardmore, indicates eleventh-century voyages to Hudson Bay.
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- Zur Frage der Echtheit des Runensteins von Kensington (Petermanns geographische mitteilungen, LXXXIV (3), March, 1938, 88-90). A commentary on the Runic inscriptions on the Kensington stone in Minnesota.
- HENTZE, CARL. *Objets rituels, croyances et dieux de la Chine antique et de l'Amérique*. Anvers: Editions "de Sikkel." 1936. Pp. 119; 230 figures; 12 plates. A description, with excellent illustrations, of the resemblances between Chinese beliefs and art, especially in the Chou period, and similar elements in America. The author believes in cultural influences between the two regions.
- HOWARD, EDGAR B. *Folsom and Yuma points from Saskatchewan* (American antiquity, IV (3), Jan., 1939, 277-9). Records and illustrations of these early archaeological types from Saskatchewan.
- HRDLICKA, ALES. *Anthropological and archaeological riches in the far northwest* (So live the works of men, ed. by DONALD D. BRAND and FRED E. HARVEY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939, 215-20). Observations on the importance of archaeological work in Alaska, with brief summaries of the results in different areas.
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- Exploration in the Aleutian and the Commander Islands (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1938: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3525), 1939, 79-86). A preliminary account of archaeological work on the Aleutian Islands.



- HUNT, GEORGE T. *The wars of the Iroquois: A study in intertribal trade relations*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. Pp. [vii], 209. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- IMBELLONI, J. *Tabla clasificatoria de los Indios. Regiones biológicas y grupos raciales humanos de América* (Physis, Buenos Aires, XII (44), 1938, 229-49).
- JENKINS, WILLIAM H. *Notes on the hunting economy of the Abitibi Indians*. (Catholic University of America, anthropological series 9.) Washington: Catholic University of America. 1939. Pp. 31. A general description of the trapping methods and hunting practices of the Abitibi band, near La Sarre, Quebec.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Canada's debt to the Indians* (Canadian geographical journal, XVIII (5), May, 1939, 268-75). A summary of economic and other contributions made by the Indian to modern Canadian life.
- *The "Snare" Indians* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIII, series 3, May, 1939, 103-5). The "Snare" Indians, first mentioned by Harmon, are identified as a branch of the North Thompson Salish who later became mixed with the Shuswap.
- KÁLLAY, UBUL VON. *Die zweierlei Farbenortungen einiger Indianerstämme Nordamerikas* (Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, LXIX (1), 1939, 11-23). A study of colour symbolism and its distribution among the Indians of North America.
- KROEBER, A. L. *Culture element distributions: XI tribes surveyed* (University of California anthropological records, I (7), 1939, 435-40; planographed). A summary of the results of the University of California survey of cultural elements in the western United States and British Columbia.
- KÜHN, HERBERT. *Der erste archäologische Nachweis für die Anwesenheit der Wikinger in Amerika* (Ipek, XII, 1938, 186). A brief note on the significance of the Viking finds at Beardmore.
- LANDES, RUTH. *Ojibwa sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 144.
- *The Ojibwa woman*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 247. These two volumes give a comprehensive picture both of the social institutions and of the role of the individual among the Ojibwa of Minnesota and the western Ontario-Manitoba boundary region. The scope of the work is psychological as well as anthropological, including case histories and deviations from the norm of behaviour.
- LANTIS, MARGARET. *The mythology of Kodiak Island, Alaska* (Journal of American folk-lore, LI (200), April-June, 1938 (issued, June, 1939), 123-72). A comprehensive compilation of the scattered tales recorded during the nineteenth century from the Eskimo of Kodiak Island, with an analysis of the distribution of the themes. The author's aim has been to investigate the affinities of the culture of the Kodiak people, one element of which is folk-lore.
- LASCELLES, TONY. *A philosophy of the wild* (Nature magazine, XXXII (1), Jan., 1939, 21-2). A popular description of an old Indian's philosophy regarding the conservation of wild life, and his criticism of the wasteful methods of the white man.
- LEBOURDAIS, D. M. *Norseland Argonauts* (Canadian magazine, XCI (1), Jan., 1939, 9, 38-9). A brief note on the Nipigon finds and the light they throw on Norse voyages to America.
- LLOYD, TREVOR. *Wild rice in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XIX (5), Nov., 1939, 288-300). Contains a brief description and photographs of the harvesting of wild rice by the Ojibwa of southern Manitoba.

- McGILL, H. W. *Indian Affairs Branch (Dominion of Canada: Report of the Department of Mines and Resources, including Report of Soldier Settlement of Canada, for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1938)*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939; 186-233. This annual government report gives a comprehensive picture of the Canadian Indians in 1938. After an introductory section on general problems such as the fur catch, drought, and economic conditions, there follow: (1) Reports on health, welfare and training, and reserves and trusts, and (2) detailed tabulations by reserve and province of crops, livestock, income and its sources, and school attendance. An adequate presentation of a complex government responsibility.
- MANGELSDORF, P. C. and REEVES, R. G. *The origin of Indian corn and its relatives*. (Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, bulletin 574.) Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. May, 1939. Pp. 315. An exhaustive study of corn, utilizing archaeological, botanical, cytogenetic, and historical data, leads to the conclusion that the primary centre of domestication was probably the Andean region of Peru.
- MATTHEWS, NORRIS W. *The totems of Alaska* (Americana, XXXIII (4), 1939, 476-87). An article on the rapidly dying art in south-eastern Alaska.
- MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *Algonquian notes* (International journal of American linguistics, IX (2-4), Jan., 1939, 103-12). A series of grammatical and linguistic comparisons.
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- Linguistic classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin 123, anthropological papers VIII: Washington, Gov't. Printing Office, 1939, 67-95). A detailed study of phonetic shifts and their distribution among the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi of the Hudson Bay area.
- MILLS, C. A. *Eskimo sexual functions* (Science, LXXXIX (2297), Jan. 6, 1939, 11-12). Observations on the age of maturity.
- MORANT, G. M. *A contribution to Eskimo craniology based on previously published measurements* (Biometrika, XXIX (1-2), June, 1937, 1-20). A statistical comparison of series of Eskimo skulls from Greenland and Alaska.
- MORTON, ARTHUR S. *A history of the Canadian West to 1870-71*. London and Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. N.d. Pp. xiv, 987. This exhaustive historical work contains much material of value to the anthropologist on the problems of early contact between Indian and white in western Canada.
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- The new nation, the Métis* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIII, series 3, May, 1939, 137-45). An historical study of the rise of race consciousness among the half-breeds of the Plains.
- MURIE, MARGARET E. *Modern Eskimo art* (Natural history, XLIV (1), June, 1939, 49-52). A description of ivory carvings by the modern Eskimo of King Island in Bering Strait.
- OSGOOD, CORNELIUS. *The ethnography of the Tanaina*. (Yale University publications in anthropology, 16.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 229. To be reviewed later.
- PACIFIQUE, LE R. P. *Leçons grammaticales théoriques et pratiques de la langue Micmaque*. Sainte-Anne de Restigouche: Bureau du Messager Micmac. 1939. Pp. 244. A reprint in book form of the articles next cited.
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- Traité théorique et pratique de la langue micmaque* (Annales de l'Acfas, IV, 1938, 213-333, and *ibid.*, V, 1939, 159-276). A comprehensive and scholarly grammar of Micmac, the work of the veteran Capuchin missionary, Father Pacifique.
- PATERSON, T. T. *Anthropogeographical studies in Greenland* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXIX (1), 1939, 45-76). A careful study of the distribution and probable sequential development of types of winter houses and harpoon heads in Greenland.

- PATERSON, T. T. *Eskimo "cats' cradles"* (Geographical magazine, IX (2), June, 1939, 85-91). A series of Eskimo string figures, with notes on their ethnological significance.
- PEDERSEN, P. O. *Investigations into dental conditions of about 3,000 ancient and modern Greenlanders* (Dental record, LVIII (4), April, 1938, 191-8). A study of caries in the teeth of prehistoric Greenland Eskimo, unmixed east Greenland Eskimo, and the mixed population of west Greenland.
- RAINEY, FROELICH G. *Archaeology in central Alaska* (American Museum of Natural History, anthropological papers, XXXVI (4), 1939, 351-405). A summary of the results of archaeological surveys in central Alaska, especially in respect to resemblances between implements found locally and others from early sites in Mongolia.
- RICKARD, T. A. *Indian participation in the gold discoveries* (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (1), Jan., 1938, 3-18). Observations on the part played by Indians in the discovery of gold in British Columbia, and on their participation in the early days of mining.
- *The use of iron and copper by the Indians of British Columbia* (British Columbia historical quarterly, III (1), Jan., 1939, 25-50). According to Cook and other early explorers, iron and copper were already known and valued by the coastal Indians at the time of first European contact. The author believes that copper was mined by the Tlingit of southern Alaska, worked locally, and traded extensively. Iron, on the other hand, was obtained from the wrecks of Japanese and Russian vessels, survivors of whose crews may have taught the Indians how to fashion tools from salvaged scraps of metal.
- ROBERTS, FRANK H. H., Jr. *The Folsom problem in American archaeology* (Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1938, Washington, 1939, 531-46). A description of this earliest period of American archaeology expanded from an article in *Early man*.
- *On the trail of ancient hunters in the western United States and Canada* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1938: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3525), 1939, 103-10). An archaeological survey shows that the distribution of Yuma points (one of the earliest forms in North America) extends northward into Saskatchewan.
- ROE, F. G. *From dogs to horses among the western Indian tribes* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sec. 2, XXXIII, series 3, May, 1939, 209-75). A scholarly and well-documented study of dogs and horses among the Plains Indians, with special reference to the dates of the acquisition of the latter animals by different tribes, and the effects upon Plains culture.
- ROKEBY-THOMAS, H. R. *Notes on dogs and sledges in the Queen Maud Sea and Coronation Gulf areas* (Geographical journal, XCIII (5), May, 1939, 424-9). Observations on dogs, sledges, and Arctic travel.
- ROSSIGNOL, M. *Property concepts among the Cree of the Rocks* (Primitive man, XII (3), July, 1939, 61-70). A study of the concepts of land and chattel ownership among the Cree who inhabit the region between the Churchill and Saskatchewan Rivers.
- SAPIR, EDWARD. *Glottalized continuants in Navaho, Nootka, and Kwakiutl* (Language, XIV (4), 1938, 248-74). A critical study of glottalized continuants, with special reference to two Indian languages of Vancouver Island.
- (ed. LESLIE SPIER). *Songs for a Comox dancing mask* (Ethnos, IV (2), April-June, 1939, 49-55). A study of the legend and songs accompanying the use of a specific mask among the Comox of Vancouver Island.
- and SWADESH, MORRIS. *Nootka texts*. (William Dwight Whitney linguistic series.) Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania. 1939. Pp. 334. An excellent series of tales and narratives with detailed grammatical notes.
- SEWALL, K. W. *Blood, taste, digital hair and color of eyes in eastern Eskimo* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXV (1), April-June, 1939, 93-9). A report on physical and physiological characteristics among the Eskimo of Labrador and Baffin Island.

- SHEPPARD, E. R. *Rambling prospector* (Beaver, outfit 270 (2), Sept., 1939, 25-7). Includes some excellent photographs of Eskimo on the west side of Hudson Bay.
- SMITH, A. R. G. *Notes on Indian village site, Wilmot Township* (Waterloo Historical Society, 26th annual report, 1938, 17-20). Recent work on an old Indian camping-site has brought gratifying results.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *More Algonkian scapulimancy from the North, and the hunting territory question* (Ethnos, IV (1), Jan.-March, 1939, 21-8). Descriptions of divination by scapulimancy in different parts of Quebec, and the association between this practice and hunting territories.
- *Savage savers* (Frontiers, IV (1), Oct., 1939, 23-7). A general description of the importance of conservation in the hunting methods of the north-eastern Algonkians.
- and EISELEY, LOREN C. *Significance of hunting territory systems of the Algonkian in social theory* (American anthropologist, XLI (2), April-June, 1939, 269-80). A thoughtful discussion of family hunting areas among the Algonkians, and of the adjustments which took place as a result of the fur trade.
- STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The disappearance of the Greenland colony* (Natural history, XLIII (1), Jan., 1939, 7-12, 34-7). A summary of views concerning the cause of the disappearance of the Norse settlement in Greenland, condensed from the author's *Unsolved mysteries of the Arctic*.
- *The lost 9000* (Canadian magazine, XCI (1), Jan., 1939, 8-9, 35-8). A commentary on the probable fate of the Norse settlers in Greenland, condensed from the author's *Unsolved mysteries of the Arctic*.
- (ed.). *The three voyages of Martin Frobisher*. London: Argonaut Press. 1938. Pp. cxxx, 166, 10 illustrations; and vii, 293, 9 illustrations. Anthropologically, the most important part of this beautiful and scholarly edition of Frober's voyages is the author's exhaustive study of the Norse Greenland settlement in respect to contact with the Eskimo.
- *Unsolved mysteries of the Arctic*. New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xvi, 381. Many items of information about the Eskimo are included in the chapters dealing with the Norse colony in Greenland, and with the Franklin expedition.
- STEWART, T. DALE. *Anthropometric observations on the Eskimos and Indians of Labrador*. (Field Museum of Natural History (publication 462), anthropological series, XXXI (1).) Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History. 1939. Pp. 163; 16 plates. A thorough study of the available data on the physical characteristics of the natives of Labrador, past and present.
- SWADESH, MORRIS. *Nootka internal syntax* (International journal of American linguistics, IX (2-4), Jan., 1939, 77-102). An exhaustive study, based on ample material, of morphemes in Nootka, an Indian language spoken on the west coast of Vancouver Island.
- SWIFT, IVAN. *Indian legend of the deluge* (Michigan history magazine, XXIII (3), summer, 1939, 217-19). A flood myth collected at Garden River, near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and recorded in popular form.
- THOMPSON, ARTHUR R. *The identity of the Red Paint People* (Archaeological Society of Connecticut, bulletin 8, May, 1939, 3-4; mimeographed). The distribution of sites and of artifacts indicates that the culture of the prehistoric "Red Paint People" of southern Maine spread from the north, probably down the valley of the St. John River in New Brunswick.
- UHLENBECK, C. C. *Blackfoot notes* (International journal of American linguistics, IX (2-4), Jan., 1939, 119). A number of brief notes on Blackfoot grammatical forms.
- VAILLANT, GEORGE C. *Indian arts in North America*. New York and London: Harper & Bros. 1939. Pp. xvi, 63; 96 plates. To be reviewed later.
- VICTOR, PAUL-ÉMILE. *Le bilboquet chez les Eskimo d'Angmagssalik* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXX (2), 1938, 299-331). An intensive study of a Greenland Eskimo game, together with the native terminology for all movements.

- WALLACE, W. S. *The literature relating to the Norse voyages to America* (C.H.R., XX (1), March, 1939, 8-16). A history and appraisal of the literature pertaining to the Norse voyages to America.
- WATKINS, FRANCES E. *Four Haida house-posts* (Masterkey, XII (3), May, 1938, 107-9). These four posts were part of a house built about 1860; the article gives various details of the ceremonies that accompanied its erection.
- *The Homer E. Sargent collections* (Masterkey, XII (6), Nov., 1938, 218-21). A note on important specimens of North-west Coast basketry in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.
- *Potlatches and a Haida potlatch hat* (Masterkey, XIII (1), Jan., 1939, 11-17). Describes the function of the potlatch among the Haida, and a type of chief's hat worn in recognition of attainment in the holding of these ceremonies.
- WATT, MAUD. *Chimo days* (Beaver, outfit 270 (2), Sept., 1939, 30-5). Photographs of, and observations on, the Eskimo and Naskapi at Fort Chimo in Ungava twenty-five years ago.
- WEEKES, MARY. *Akaitcho, a link with Franklin* (Beaver, outfit 270 (1), June, 1939, 25-7). In 1820 Franklin was guided from Fort Enterprise to the Arctic by the Yellowknife chief, Akaitcho; in 1867 Akaitcho, then an old and feeble man, related anecdotes of Franklin to Chief Trader King, who in turn transmitted them to Miss Weekes many years later.
- *I become a medicine man* (Beaver, outfit 270 (3), Dec., 1939, 24-6). A description of a medicine ceremony held near the Berens River in 1862 in which the raconteur, W. Cornwallis King, participated.
- WEYER, EDWARD. *The ingenious Eskimo* (Natural history, XLIII (5), May, 1939, 278-9, 297). Descriptions of a number of ingenious devices used by the Eskimo.
- WHITAKER, WAYNE L. *The question of a seasonal sterility among the Eskimos* (Science, LXXXVIII (2279), Sept. 2, 1938, 214-15). The assumption of winter sterility among the Eskimo is not supported by recent studies.
- WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Indian treaties* (Beaver, outfit 269 (4), March, 1939, 38-41). A description, derived from historical sources, of the signing of important Indian treaties on the Plains.
- WINTENBERG, W. J. *Eskimo sites of the Dorset culture in Newfoundland* (American antiquity, V (2), Oct., 1939, 83-102). An extremely important article on the distribution of Eskimo sites in north-west Newfoundland, with descriptions of many of the specimens.
- *Petroglyphs of the "Roche Percée" and vicinity, Saskatchewan* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, sect. 2, XXXIII, series 3, May, 1939, 175-84). A description of rock carvings in south-eastern Saskatchewan, with comments upon the techniques and designs.
- *Virginia deer in Prince Edward Island* (Canadian field-naturalist, LIII (8), Nov., 1939, 122). The discovery of the astragalus bone of a Virginia deer in an archaeological site on Prince Edward Island extends the range of this animal in pre-Columbian days.
- WRONG, GEORGE M. (ed.). *The long journey to the country of the Hurons by Father Gabriel Sagard*. (Translated into English by H. H. LANGTON.) (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXV.) Toronto: Champlain Society. 1939. Pp. xlvii, 411, xii. Made available for the first time in English, this volume contains a mass of information on the Hurons and adjacent tribes, as seen in 1623. Sagard was a missionary, but his curiosity led him to observe and record many details of Indian life; anthropologically, he is probably the most important of the seventeenth-century French writers.
- YANOVSKY, ELIAS. *Food plants of the north American Indians*. (United States Department of Agriculture, miscellaneous publication 237, July, 1936.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1937. Pp. 83. A list of 1,112 species of plants used as food by the Indians of the United States and Canada.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### A SURVEY OF CANADIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUMS

In recent years there has been a very great increase of interest in historical museums and in the preservation or restoration of historical buildings. While scarcely more than a beginning has been made some excellent work has already been done in various parts of the Dominion. This is a point at which the historian and the public should find something in common, and many communities which have neglected the possibility of exploiting their historic interests would find it decidedly to their advantage to give the matter some attention. For several years the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has been publishing in each issue notes on historical societies and on archives and libraries with a view to recording historical activities of importance in all parts of the Dominion. Among these notes a number of scattered references have been made to historical museums, and it appeared that a useful purpose would be served by compiling a complete list of the museums with a brief indication of the interests with which they are concerned. Miss Gwendolen Kidd of the staff of the National Gallery in Ottawa has been good enough to undertake this work, and it is planned to print her survey in the next issue of the REVIEW. Miss Kidd has sent an inquiry to all those who, so far as she knew, could give her information. If anyone has been inadvertently missed we should appreciate hearing from them without delay. Very small museums are being included as well as the larger ones. The descriptive notes will necessarily be the briefest possible but they will indicate the scope of interest of each museum.

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### HISTORY ON THE AIR

A series of six radio talks under the general title "Historical Backgrounds" is being given over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the last Monday of each month from 7.45 to 8 P.M. (E.S.T.). The Radio Committee of the Canadian Historical Association, Mr. R. G. Riddell secretary, has co-operated in planning the series by suggesting speakers and subjects. The first of the series was given by Professor G. S. Graham of Queen's University on February 26, the subject being Poland. The purpose of the series is to present the historical setting for events which are of current interest. Subjects such as the Franco-German frontier, the strategic importance of the south Atlantic, and the position of neutrals will be discussed.

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### CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association will be held at the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, May 22-4. The programme will be diversified in character, but the greater number of the sessions will be concerned with Canadian history after 1867. There will be a session on transportation and another on the frontier in Canadian history. Three sessions will be devoted to public affairs since Confederation; one of these, on the War of 1914 to 1918, will be a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association. A printed programme is being prepared. Inquiries with regard to local arrangements may be addressed to Professor Fred Landon, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

## BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(*The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW will be pleased to supply on request information with regard to publishers and prices of books mentioned in its pages. These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.*)

*Selected Titles on Medieval Europe*

In view of the inclusion of medieval Europe in the curriculum of some of the Canadian high schools a few suggestions with regard to reference books may be found useful. Among the books mentioned below special attention has been given to small and cheap volumes particularly helpful to the teacher rather than to large and specialized works, such as *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Naturally, in so selective a list, a number of books useful both to teachers and pupils have of necessity been omitted. As in Canadian history and the other fields of the high-school curriculum, notes will, however, be printed from time to time, and these will contain further suggestions, especially with regard to recently published books. Biographies will also be included later. It appeared impossible to deal with them adequately in the present note.

Two sound and recent college texts with good bibliographies are *A survey of European civilization*, vol. I, by W. K. Ferguson and G. Bruun (Boston, 1936), and *History of medieval Europe* by Carl Stephenson (New York and London, 1935). H. A. L. Fisher, *History of Europe*, vol. I (London, 1935), is more political in outlook, but very attractive in style and excellent in its suggestive and individual interpretations. Lynn Thorndyke, *History of medieval Europe* (Boston, 1928), a good general survey, deals in particular with the development of European culture. H. W. C. Davis, *Medieval Europe* (Home University Library), does not contain the results of more recent research but is small, cheap, and still useful.

*Political.* There are some excellent surveys on the period up to 800. Among them H. St. L. B. Moss, *The birth of the middle ages, 395-814* (Oxford, 1935), may be mentioned first. Ferdinand Lot, in the *End of the ancient world* (New York, 1931), deals especially with the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire in the west. Christopher Dawson in *The making of Europe* (London, 1932), emphasizes the contribution of the church with regard to the later period. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* (rev. ed., London, 1919), is still valuable for the eighth and ninth centuries, especially with regard to the relation of church and state. On France, C. Guignebert, *A short history of the French people* (New York, 1930), vol. I, is a good general survey. F. M. Powicke, *Medieval England* (Home University Library) is cheap and valuable. A similar volume on the East Roman Empire is Norman Baynes, *Byzantine Empire* (London and New York, 1925). There is nothing so useful on medieval Germany, although H. Pinnow, *History of Germany* (London, 1933), is helpful in filling the gap. Medieval Italy is discussed on a larger scale by Henry B. Cotterill in *Medieval Italy* (London, 1915). Two convenient little volumes (amongst many) on the crusades are E. Barker, *The Crusades* (London, 1923), and R. A. Newhall, *The Crusades* (New York, 1927).

*Religious and cultural.* Useful material, specially designed as a help to teachers, is found in S. Baldwin, *The organization of medieval Christianity* (New York, 1929), one of the Berkshire Studies in European history. Margaret Deansley, *A history of the medieval church* (London, 1925), is reliable and not too large. A convenient volume, well illustrated and touching every aspect of medieval life, is the *Legacy of the middle ages* by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob (Oxford, 1926). It should



be in every school library. *Pre-reformation England* by H. M. Smith (London, 1938), is a very recent and valuable book on the medieval church. *Medieval panorama* (Cambridge, 1938), by G. G. Coulton, discusses every aspect of medieval life, especially the religious, and should also be in every school library, though teachers should remember that Dr. Coulton has very strong views on certain matters which have been sharply questioned by some other historians. B. L. Manning, *The people's faith in the time of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 1919), is a very small volume, but it illustrates well one aspect of the medieval church. Every student should be encouraged to read C. H. Haskins, *The rise of universities* (New York, 1923). It is almost a vest-pocket volume, but delightful to read. R. S. Rait, *Life in the medieval university* (Cambridge, 1912), may also be recommended. Histories of medieval thought are material for rather advanced students, but F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The social and political ideas of some great medieval thinkers* (London, 1923), and H. O. Taylor, *Medieval mind* (London, 1930), may well be drawn to the attention of teachers. Advanced students should be encouraged to read Helen Waddell's novel *Peter Abelard* (London, 1933). Though this is fiction it closely follows the facts and Miss Waddell has a profound knowledge of the period.

*Social.* To the books by Coulton and H. M. Smith mentioned above may be added H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English manor* (Cambridge, 1937), W. S. Davis, *Life on a mediaeval barony* (New York, 1923), A. Abram, *Social England in the fifteenth century* (London and New York, 1909). A handy volume with beautiful illustrations is that by Max von Boehn, translated by Joan Joshua, *Modes and manners*, vol. I (Philadelphia 1932-6). Aspects of French life are well illustrated in Joan Evans, *Medieval France* (London and New York, 1925). Well adapted for use by the teacher and perhaps the best beginning for a study of the social life are L. F. Salzmann, *English life in the middle ages* (Oxford, 1926), and *English industries of the middle ages* (Oxford, 1923). Some will prefer Eileen Power's *Medieval people* (London, 1924). This is a colourful account of the lives of various imaginary people from different walks of life, written in very simple language. It is cheap and can be read with profit by almost any student. J. J. Jusserand, *English wayfaring life in the middle ages* (London, 1889), is still interesting and useful. Valuable extracts from sources may be found in G. G. Coulton, *Medieval garner* (London, 1910).

*Economic.* Perhaps the best introduction to economic problems are Henri Pirenne's *Social and economic history of the middle ages* (London, 1936) and *Medieval cities* (Princeton, 1925). G. G. Coulton, *The medieval village* (Cambridge, 1925), is full of illustrative material. His little pamphlet on *The black death* should not be overlooked. E. Lipson, *Economic history*, vol. I (London, 1920), is still perhaps the best introduction to the economic history of medieval England. [B. WILKINSON.]

*National Socialist education.* Erika Mann, in *School for barbarians* (New York, Modern Age Books, 1938), has written a vivid, if depressing, account of education in Germany since the National Socialist revolution. The theme of the book is that education, in any proper sense of the word, has virtually disappeared, and has been replaced by a never-ceasing re-iteration of the ideas which the government wishes to inculcate. The child grows up in the atmosphere created by National Socialism, and its work and play are dominated by the state. History is, of course, an obvious subject for propaganda. The author shows that other subjects are filled with illustrations having to do with warfare, and with the glorification of the state and its leader.

*New world ballads* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1939, xvi, 177 pp., \$2.50) is a charmingly printed collection of sixty ballads by John Murray Gibbon dealing with subjects which are typically Canadian. Mr. Gibbon has written his words for melodies brought from the British Isles and Europe. The melodies are printed. Some of the songs have recently been published with full accompaniment in two volumes of a series entitled "Northland Songs." *New world ballads* is beautifully illustrated and has interesting introductory notes to the sections. How well the ballads will adapt themselves to the schoolroom can perhaps only be determined by their use, but we cannot commend too highly the desire to supply songs touching the history of English-speaking Canada. If Mr. Gibbon has succeeded only partially in his purpose he will make a valuable contribution to Canada's national life.

*A history of trade and commerce: With special reference to Canada* by Herbert Heaton (new and rev. ed., Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939, 404 pp., 80c.). This is a new and revised edition of a book which appeared originally in 1928 and which is intended primarily for students in high-school commercial courses. The last three chapters—roughly a third of the book—are devoted to the commercial development of Canada. In the main, the survey covers the period from 1820 to 1938; but there are occasional glimpses at earlier developments; and, for example, a brief sketch of the fur trade forms a prelude to the description of the opening of the West. The book supplies a survey of the growth of the modern Canadian economy which, though necessarily brief, is well-rounded and interestingly written.

*A history of western civilization. Vol. I: From ancient Greece through the Renaissance* by A. P. Watts (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, xxxvii, 786 pp., \$5.00; to schools, \$3.75). This first volume of Professor Watts' *History of western civilization* will be of great service to teachers in setting before them in a convenient manner the most recent scholarly evaluation of such significant developments as the course of medieval culture, the rise of the Renaissance, the appearance and purpose of feudalism. For a moderate-sized book which attempts to be so encyclopedic this one holds together reasonably well, though in sections it degenerates into a list of names, dates, and events. The injection of numerous sectional headings gives an impression of greater discontinuity than actually exists, but they will help teachers and students to find particular material with ease. This book will be of value to all teachers, and to the better students working on projects.

Topics of current interest are treated in a series of information bulletins issued at five and ten cents each by the Canadian Association for Adult Education from material supplied by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Among the first seven topics are "War aims and peace plans," "Canada's war economy, and United States neutrality revision," "Anglo-French economic co-operation." Address the association at 198 College Street, Toronto. A series of pamphlets on the crises and course of the war by Professor Edgar McInnis of the University of Toronto is also to be published by the Oxford Press.

The following titles have also come to our attention. (Mention here does not preclude a later and lengthier notice.) M. P. Allen, *Black rain* (New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1939, x, 213 pp., \$2.00)—a story in the historical setting of the Pontiac rising.\*\*\* L. I. Capen, *Across the ages: The story of man's progress* (New York, American Book Co., 1940, x, 842, li pp., \$2.20).\*\*\* C. E. Chadsey, L. Weinberg, C. F. Miller, *America in the making: From wilderness to*

world power (Boston, Heath; Toronto, Copp Clark, 1939, xviii, 720, xlvi pp., \$1.76).\*\*\* C. H. Coleman and E. B. Wesley, *America's road to now* (Boston, Heath; Toronto, Copp Clark, 1939, xiv, 624, xxix pp., \$1.76).\*\*\* R. S. Cotterill, *A short history of the Americas* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, xviii, 459 pp., \$2.50).\*\*\* E. C. Guillet, *Pioneer travel* (Early life in Upper Canada series, book IV; Toronto, Ontario Publishing Co., 1939, viii, 176 pp., 75c.).\*\*\* F. M. Lawson and V. K. Lawson, *Our America: Today and yesterday* (Boston, Heath; Toronto, Copp Clark, 1938, xii, 864 pp., \$2.20).\*\*\* C. E. Smith and P. G. Moorhead, *A short history of the ancient world* (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, xvii, 653 pp., \$3.75).

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*The Art, Historical and Scientific Associations of Vancouver.* The annual report of the association which marks the forty-sixth year since its inception indicates continued activity and growth. The visitors during the year were over 100,000. Large numbers of books, photographs, old newspapers and pictures were added to the museum archives, the material relating to Indians being particularly important. The association has taken a special interest in the investigation of the Great Fraser Midden at Marpole which has revealed important information with regard to prehistoric Indian life in the vicinity of present-day Vancouver. The museum is seriously handicapped by the inadequacy of its present headquarters. President, Charles Hill-Tout; secretary, curator, T. P. O. Menzies.

*The Champlain Society.* During 1939 the society published Sagard's *Grand voyage* edited by G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. "The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut and the Princess Royal from 26 April, 1789 to 3 November 1791" edited by His Honour Judge F. W. Howay is now in preparation; also, as mentioned in our issue of Sept., 1939, "Colin Robertson's correspondence, 1817-1822," the second volume to be published in collaboration with the Hudson's Bay Record Society. President, Sir Robert Falconer, K.C.M.G.; secretaries, H. C. Walker, W. S. Wallace; treasurer, H. H. Langton; assistant-secretary-treasurer, Miss Julia Jarvis. Address: The Library, University of Toronto.

*Les Dix.* Ten meetings were held by the society during 1939, the members acting as chairmen in turn. The annual volume *Les Cahiers des Dix* contained an article by each member, and will be reviewed in this journal. The titles of the articles have been included in the List of Recent Publications in this issue. Three of the articles have also been published separately: "Nos coutumes et nos traditions françaises" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Sorel, à propos d'une visite princière" by Mgr. Olivier Maurault; and "Les représentants de la France au Canada" by F.-J. Audet. The society will assist in the publication early in 1940 of *Histoire de Contrecoeur* by F.-J. Audet, and *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis* by Égédus Fauteux.

*The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* has entered its twenty-second year in a very flourishing condition. At the first meeting of the year held on February 13 reports were given as to the work of the society and papers were read which touched on matters of contemporary as well as of historical interest. From April 1 to the end of 1939 the Fort Anne Museum had over two thousand visitors—the continued interest being a tribute to the excellent work done by the curator in organizing and exhibiting the valuable collection of the museum. Among the visitors were many teachers with their pupils from different parts of the province.

Recent acquisitions include several coins, one of them commemorating the Chesapeake-Shannon victory; a copy of the coat of arms of La Tour; a sundial belonging to Icabod Corbitt, a schoolmaster in Annapolis Royal in the early part of the nineteenth century; an old French harrow, the gift of Dennis Thebodeau and used by his grandfather in 1814, authentically pronounced as one of the earliest types of harrow used in French Canada; a collection of Micmac Indian handicraft work from the National Museum, Ottawa. The society continues its work in connection with the extensive plan for improving the grounds surrounding the Port Royal Habitation, the building of which was described in the last issue of this REVIEW. Lieut.-Colonel Eaton who is honorary superintendent of Fort Anne National Park and also curator of the Fort Anne Museum pointed out that there will be no formal opening of the Habitation until the work on the surrounding park, which is a large undertaking, is completed. A paper by Miss Ada McAnn on New Brunswick handicrafts was presented at the February meeting by Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Harris. Also Mrs. F. C. Gilliat, the secretary of the association, read a paper on "The old Annapolis Academy, 1899-1939" in which she referred to a large number of pupils who had made significant contributions to the life of the province. Colonel Eaton has been appointed as one of the two Canadian members on the committee on policy of the newly organized Conference of Historical Societies.

*Kamloops Museum Association*, 406 Victoria Street, Kamloops, B.C. The arrangement by which the association is housed in the pioneer home of the late Mrs. R. E. Smith which was purchased by Mrs. J. S. Burris has proven to be a great success. The city co-operates in the upkeep of the premises and the museum is opened freely to the public. The third annual meeting of the association was held on January 22, and the report presented indicated that the association had had the most successful year since its organization. Some fifty new exhibits of general interest were acquired as well as large additions to the literature and photographic collections. The latter now has over a thousand items and is rapidly increasing. The museum had over 2,800 visitors during the year. The association is receiving and answering inquiries regarding the history of the district. Full co-operation is maintained with the Provincial Library at Victoria and information is constantly exchanged. President, J. J. Morse; secretary, G. D. Brown, Jr.

*The Kent Historical Society* published recently *Kentiana*, an attractively bound little volume. Although it is described as a summary of the published records of the society, over one-third of the contents of the booklet is new. There are eighteen articles by various authors, dealing with such subjects as Fairfield, the Moravian Indian village, early settlement and surveys, Selkirk's Baldoon settlement, Tecumseh, church life, the press, municipal government, and oil booms. The ten page, two-column index might well serve as an example to all local historical societies. Particular credit is due to Dr. J. W. Mustard whose generosity made the publication possible.

*The London and Middlesex Historical Society* has had three very successful meetings since October last at which papers have been read by President W. Sherwood Fox, Professor Fred Landon, and Dr. James J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario; by Dr. Edwin Seaborn, vice-president of the society, and by Mrs. J. R. Henderson, London. The work of indexing the mass of documents acquired from the London court house is still being carried on, with the assistance of the London Welfare Board, and several hundred thousand papers have been classified and indexed. Efforts have been recently made to encourage the compilation of village and town histories by county members, with fine success. Frequent

articles on matters of local historical interest, written by members, appear in the *London Free Press*. President, Hubert J. Trumper; vice-presidents, Dr. Edwin Seaborn, Mrs. John Shore; secretary, H. Orlo Miller, Box 571, London, Ont.

The *Ontario Historical Society* has recently published its report for 1939, being volume XXXIII of its *Papers and Records*. The titles of the papers are included in our List of Recent Publications in this issue.

*Saskatchewan Historical Society*. Five new branches were added during the past year. Through its branches the society is collecting a large amount of valuable source material in which the following may be mentioned: much of the original correspondence of Louis Riel in respect of the Rebellion of 1885; records of immigration to Saskatchewan; the history of the Farmers' movements and agriculture; biographical information; the history of the Indians in the province, of the fur-trading posts and traders. A valuable document recently acquired is a copy of the diary of Alexander Begg, the Manitoba historian, written during the Red River insurrection of 1869-70. Begg had exceptional opportunities of observing what occurred and his diary is a record of great value. A number of standing committees have been appointed to investigate subjects of importance. Several important works were published by members of the society during the past year, including Professor Morton's *History of the Canadian West*, Dr. C. C. Lingard's *Constitutional and political history of the North West Territories*, and *The last buffalo hunter* by Mary Weekes. The annual meeting, held in Regina on October 18, 1939, had an attendance of over one hundred and fifty. President, J. A. Gregory; vice-presidents, Hugh McGillivray, Mrs. John R. Green, Mrs. G. H. Barr; secretary, Z. M. Hamilton; treasurer, A. T. Hunter.

*La Société Historique de Montréal*. The following papers were read before the society during 1939: "L'épopée chevaleresque des zouaves pontificaux" by Georges Panneton; "L'abbé Verreau, historien" by the Rev. Armand Yon; "Le sens des réalités dans l'œuvre d'Etienne Parent" by Gérard Parizeau; "Nos premiers inventeurs" by the Hon. Ed. Fabre-Surveyer; "Nos aieules, 'filles du Roy'" by Pierre J.-O. Boucher; "Les rapports de Victor Hugo et de Lamartine avec le Canada" by Égidius Fauteux; "Pierre-Dominique Debartzch, 1782-1846" by Jean-Jacques Lefebvre; "Le troupeau d'Epicure" by Victor Morin; "Louis Fréchette, sa vie et son œuvre" by Elie J. Auclair. President, Égidius Fauteux; vice-president, Olivier Maurault; secretary, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre; treasurer, Montarville Boucher de la Bruère. Address, 1210 Sherbrooke est, Montreal; secretary's address, Old Court House, Montreal.

*La Société Historique des Cantons de l'Est (The Eastern Townships Historical Society)* held its annual meeting on February 26, 1940. Mr. L.-P. Robidoux, editor of *La Tribune* of Sherbrooke was elected president. Other officers include: Honorary president, the Rev. Canon V. Vincent; vice-president, J. Donat Dufour; archivist, the Rev. Canon Michel Couture; secretary, the Rev. J.-H. Dubuc; director of studies, the Rev. Albert Gravel; treasurer, C.-E. Bachand. Plans are in preparation for an active programme. The archives of the society are located at St. Charles' College, Sherbrooke, P.Q.

*La Société Historique du Saguenay* has held thirteen meetings during the past year. Acquisitions include fifty-five pieces to the museum, sixty volumes to the library, and a number of documents, photographs, and other items to the archives. The society is continuing its interest in the restoration of the post at Métabetchouan and in the investigation of historic sites at Chicoutimi and near Tadoussac. President, the Abbé Victor Tremblay; vice-president, Georges Lamothe; secretary,

Roland Saucier; treasurer, Roland Angers; archivist, the Abbé Lorenzo Angers; curator of the museum, the Abbé Louis Robin. Address, Séminaire de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, P.Q.

*Waterloo Historical Society.* The annual report of the society for 1939, is to be presented in the near future. The society gave assistance in connection with the pioneer memorial tower on the Grand River, opposite Doon, which marked the first farm occupied in the county.

*The York-Sunbury Historical Society,* Fredericton, New Brunswick, has been very active during the past year. Its museum which is opened freely to the public twice a week had over eight hundred visitors in 1939. A number of books and other items have been added to the collection. The society does much useful genealogical work which is greatly appreciated by inquirers. It has also been instrumental in having memorials placed in honour of early settlers, United Empire Loyalists, the old 104th New Brunswick Regiment, etc. Papers of historic value which are read at the society's meetings are published in the *Fredericton Gleaner*.

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#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*The Hamilton Public Library* has acquired over 400 pamphlets and government publications from the estate of the late Thomas Bain, Liberal Member of Parliament for Wentworth County, 1872-1900. The collection covers most of the political controversies of that time and includes reports of Royal Commissions, Special Parliamentary Committees, and so on, as well as leaflets, political speeches, speakers' handbooks, and propaganda pamphlets. Dominion affairs predominate but some Ontario questions are included. While most of the collection represents Liberal party literature, there are also a few Conservative pamphlets. The collection has not been checked by other catalogues but it is possible that some of the ephemeral items may not be readily available elsewhere. There are a number of duplicates which the library will be glad to dispose of. Enquiries should be addressed to the librarian, Mrs. N. W. Lyle.

*New York State Library.* The *Annual Report* for 1939 lists among its accessions the correspondence, notebooks, leases, and miscellaneous papers, about 1790-1810, of John Porteous and William Alexander, of Little Falls, agents of Alexander and Edward Ellice, English merchants and fur traders.

*Toronto Public Library.* The Reference Division has in preparation a preliminary checklist of its manuscripts relating to the continent of North America before 1900. This library is noted for its manuscripts concerning early settlement and government in Upper Canada and includes the private and official papers of several families prominent in the early history of York. Although many of these manuscripts have been in the possession of the library for over fifty years this is the first handbook to be prepared for publication. It is expected that it will be ready for distribution before the summer.

*Victoria University Library,* Toronto. The last two bulletins of the library have been devoted to church history, it being the desire of the library to build up its already strong collection on church history in Canada and in particular on the history of the churches now included in the United Church. Inquiries and suggestions will be welcomed by the librarian, Dr. F. Louis Barber. The last bulletin contains a brief description of the library's collection on local church history by Miss Margaret Ray, associate librarian.

